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OFFICE OF THE STAFF

1919

2657-L-1

WAR DEPARTMENT  
SUBJECT Colonel Felipe S. Alfonso, Argentine Army, appointed

Secretary to Ministry of War.

From R.C.-----COMBAT

No. 1671

Date November 15

1919.

Replying to No.

Date

"Organization---15".

On November 12th, 1919 the appointment was announced of Colonel Felipe S. Alfonso as Secretary to the Ministry of War, to succeed Colonel Vacarezza, the future Argentine Military Attaché in Washington.

Colonel Alfonso was born in Rosario, Province of Santa Fé in 1872. He entered the Army in 1890. He was in the Military Academy from 1903 to 1905 as commander of the Infantry Company, and then returned to his Regiment.

He was appointed professor (instructor) of military organization and legislation in the Military Academy in 1904 and 1905; Secretary to the Police in the Government Intervention of the Province of San Juan in 1907; Chief of the second section of the General Staff of the first military region, etc.

He was promoted to the rank of Major in 1908. He graduated from the first year of the Superior School of War in 1911, and continued his studies in the Officers' Academy. He was promoted to Lieut. Colonel in 1915, and in 1917 was appointed Commander of the "Patricios" Regiment, which detail he held at the time of his present appointment. During the Government Intervention in the province of Corrientes in 1918, Colonel Alfonso was appointed Chief of Police, and according to the Radical paper "La Epoca" carried out his duties with marked success.

It is apparent that this appointment is undoubtedly not altogether foreign to politics.

Binding Margin

3  
(See Letters of Instructions to Military Attachés.)

2647-L-2  
DEPARTMENT

SUBJECT THE LABOR MOVEMENT IN ARGENTINA

From H-S POLITICAL

No. 2166 Date Dec. 29th, 19 19

Replying to No. Date, 19

LABOR ---- 58

The laborers' Secretary of the Transport business received a letter from the two labor leaders of the Argentine Republic by the name of Sebastian Marotta and Pedro Vengu, who are residing in Belgium at present. The former is the secretary general of the rural federation of trade unions and the latter is secretary of the Seamen's League; they gave some information about the present state of affairs of the labor movement in Argentina.

The Argentine laborers are no longer prepared to be exploited by foreign capitalists and it is hoped to go over very soon to nationalizing the railroads because the railroads of Argentina are being exploited by English capitalists. The labor movement has increased tremendously recently and at Buenos-Aires the boycott is being put into practice with much success.

The Seamen are syndicated to the last man. Also the Sea-officers and engineers are strongly organized. Sea-officers and seamen cooperate closely. The seamen and sea-officers have put out of action the disciplinary law of Argentina by making up themselves a disciplinary regulation, which is being put into practice by them. Also the river and sea pilots are organized and they simply refuse to pilot a ship into or out of the port of Buenos-Aires when the organizations have forbidden such.

Their opinion is that in the near future the Internationals of the trade unions will be able to display a position of authority which will be of significance to the laborers of all countries.

3 copies to DMI  
1 copy to M.A. Buenos-Aires  
JBO/k

2657-L-3

SUBJECT Biographical Data on Argentine Minister of War.

From R.C.-----POLITICAL-----

No. 1919 Date January 31, 1920

Replying to No. \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_, 19\_\_\_\_

14. Official  
42. Subordinates.

Resumé of Report.

Biographical notes on Argentine Minister of War.

In connection with Report # 1356, the following biographical data on the present Minister of War, Dr. Julio Moreno is furnished.

He was born in Buenos Aires on November 14, 1866. He attended primary, secondary schools, the Faculty of Law and Social Sciences.

He was a leading revolutionary of the Radical party and took part in the 1890 revolution. He was imprisoned at the time.

The public appointments he has held to date include that of Judge in Civil and Commercial matters, Chief of Police, and Minister of War and acting Minister of Marine.

Binding Margin.

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ONLY

SUBJECT POLITICAL PARTY ---- ARGENTINA

From R.C. ---- POLITICAL

No. 3006 Date August 4, 19 20.

Replying to No. 2657-L-5, M.I.2 Date June 1, 19 20.

(14) Official

(43) Councilors

The Cabinet is at present composed of the following members:

|   |                             |
|---|-----------------------------|
| Minister of the Interior:                   | Dr. Ramon Gomez.            |
| Minister for Foreign Affairs and Worship:   | Dr. Honorio Pueyrredón.     |
| Minister of Finance:                        | Dr. Domingo Salaberry.      |
| Minister of Justice and Public Instruction: | Dr. José S. Salinas.        |
| Minister of War and Navy:                   | Dr. Julio Moreno.           |
| Minister of Agriculture:                    | Engineer Alfredo Demarechi. |
| Minister of Public Works:                   | Dr. Pablo Torello.          |

The Radical Party is in power and all the members of the present Cabinet belong to that party. The person of greatest political importance is Dr. Ramón Gomez, Minister of the Interior.

(15) Unofficial

(44) Leaders

Unión Cívica Radical (Radical Party)

President Irigoyen,  
Leopoldo Melo, Senator,  
Camilo Crotto, Governor of the Province of Bs. Aires,  
Vicente C. Gallo, Senator,  
Victor M. Molina, Deputy,  
Fernando Saguer, Senator,  
Delfor del Valle, Deputy.

Partido Conservador and Partido Demócrata Progresista  
(Conservative Party)

Benito Villanueva, President of the Senate.  
Julio A. Roca, Senator.  
Julio Costa, Former Senator.  
Marcelino Ugarte, former Governor of the Province of Buenos Aires and former Senator.  
Rodolfo Moreno, Deputy.  
Sanchez Sorondo, Deputy.

Partido Socialista (Socialist Party)

Juan B. Justo, Deputy, principal leader of the Party.

President of the Republic.

Member: Dr. Alfredo L. Palacios

International Party

Leader: José F. Pensions

(45) Advisers

The following prominent members of the Radical Party are close to the President and in agreement with him:

Messrs. Peyro, Capurro, J. Fernandez, Gynanarte, Goyeneche, Pereysa Rozas, del Valle and Saquier.

(46) Personages

The following prominent members of the Radical Party are not in agreement with the President:

Messrs. Melo, Gallo, Crotto, Tamborini and Molina.

(47) Same as (15) (45)

(16) Special

(48) Foreign

At the present time the Chiefs of the Argentine Diplomatic Missions abroad are the following:

BOLIVIA:

Chargé: Carlos A. Galarce  
Military Attaché: Major Ramon Espindola.

BRAZIL:

Minister: Dr. Mario Ruiz de los Llanos

CENTRAL AMERICA

|             |                                  |
|-------------|----------------------------------|
| Costa Rica: | } Minister: Federico M. Quintana |
| El Salvador |                                  |
| Guatemala   |                                  |
| Honduras:   |                                  |
| Nicaragua:  |                                  |
| Panama:     |                                  |

COLOMBIA:

Minister: Carlos Zavalía

CUBA:

Chargé d' affaires ad interim: Dr. Eduardo Labougle

CHILE:

Minister: Dr. Carlos A. Fierro

COLOMBIA:

Minister: (Not yet appointed)  
(No one in charge)

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA:

Ambassador: Dr. Tomás A. Le Bretón.

MEXICO:

Minister: Dr. Manuel T. Malbran.

PARAGUAY

Minister: Dr. Laurentino Olascoaga.

PERU

Minister: Dr. Antonio Sagara

URUGUAY

Minister: Dr. Carlos de Estrada

VENEZUELA

Minister: Sr. Hilarión D. Moreno

GERMANY

Minister: Dr. Luis B. Molina

AUSTRIA AND HUNGARY

Minister: Dr. Fernando Pérez.

BELGIUM:

Minister: Dr. Alberto Blancas.

DENMARK, NORWAY AND SWEDEN

Minister: Dr. Jacobo Peuser

SPAIN

Minister: (Not yet appointed)

Counselor of Embassy, Chargé d' Affaires ad interim:  
Sr. Roberto Levillier.

FRANCE:

Minister: Dr. Marcelo T. de Alvear.

GREAT BRITAIN:

Minister: Engineer Federico Alvarez de Toledo.

ITALY:

Minister: Dr. Lucas Ayarragaray.

THE NETHERLANDS

Minister: Sr. Alejandro Guesalaga.

PORTUGAL

Minister: Sr. José María Cantilo.

RUSSIA:

Minister: St. Gabriel Martínez Campos

SWITZERLAND:

Minister: Dr. Juan Lagos Marmol.

HOLY SEE

Minister: Sr. Daniel Garcoía Mansilla.

JAPAN

Chargé d'Affaires: Dr. Albino Pugnalin

(49) Alien

The foreign diplomatic representatives in the Argentine Republic are the following:

GERMANY:

Minister: (Not yet appointed)  
Chargé d'Affaires ad Interim: Herr F. Olshausen

BELGIUM:

Minister: (Not yet appointed)  
Chargé d'Affaires ad Interim: Count Robert van der Straten  
Ponthoz.

BOLIVIA:

Minister: Dr. Ricardo Mujía (About to leave) Resigned.

NOTE: Dr. Eleodoro Villazón has been appointed Confidential Agent in Argentina since the Revolution.

COLOMBIA:

Minister: Dr. Roberto Ancizar

CUBA:

Minister: Sr. Manuel de la Vega y Calderón. (Absent)

CUBA:

Chargé d'Affaires ad Interim:  
Dr. Alberto de la Torre y Scublette.

CHILE:

Minister: Sr. Luis Izquierdo has been appointed but has not yet arrived).

Chargé d'Affaires ad Interim: Sr. Alberto Kloss

DENMARK:

Chargé d'Affaires (permanent)  
Mr. Otto Wadsted.

ECUADOR:

Minister: Sr. General de División Delfin B. Treviño  
(Absent)

SPAIN:

Ambassador: Sr. Pablo Soler y Guardiola (Absent)  
Chargé d'Affaires ad interim: Sr. Alfonso Danvila

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA:

Ambassador: The Honorable Frederic Jesup Stimson (Absent)  
Chargé d'Affaires ad Interim: W. Craig Wadsworth.

UNITED STATES OF BRAZIL

Minister: Dr. Pedro de Toledo

FRANCE:

Minister: Mr. Eduardo Guassen (Absent)  
Chargé d'Affaires ad Interim: Gaston Bernard.

GREAT BRITAIN:

Minister: Mr. James William Ronald Macleay, C.M.G.

ITALY:

Minister: Mr. Vittore C. Cobianchi.

JAPAN:

Minister: Mr. Takashi Nakamura

MEXICO:

Minister: (Not yet appointed)  
Chargé d'Affaires ad Interim: Dr. Leopold Blásquez

THE NETHERLANDS:

Minister: Mr. Jacobo Barendraacht

RUSSIA:

Mr. Eugenio Stein was recognized as Minister of the Imperial Government of Russia on the 13th of November 1916, and is still recognized by the Argentine Government as the Russian Minister.



HOLY SEE

Apostolic Nuncio: The Rt. Rev. Dr. Alberto Vassallo di Torregrossa.

SWEDEN

Minister: Mr. Carl Hultgren (Absent)  
Chargé d' Affaires ad Interim: Mr. Alex Paulin (Commercial Attaché)

NORWAY

Minister: Mr. Halvard Huitfeldt Baahke.

PARAGUAY

Minister: Sr. Pedro Saguer

PERU

Minister: Sr. Herman Velarde.

PORTUGAL

Minister: Dr. Alberto Oliveira.

REPÚBLICA ORIENTAL DEL URUGUAY

Minister: Br. Daniel Muñoz

SWITZERLAND

Minister; Mr. Arthur de Pury (Absent)  
Chargé d' Affaires ad Interim: Mr. Reinhard Amsler.

(17) Political

(5) "Ins"

Radical Party

(for Leaders: see (15) (44))

The Radical Party announces that its object is to comply with the constitution and the laws in general and to see that the suffrage laws are carried out. It advocates the reduction of expenses.

(For further information see inclosure No.1 attached herewith).

(51) The Opposition

Conservative Party

The Conservative Party is in strong opposition to the other two political parties and is hostile to the President.

Socialist Party.

The ~~Socialist~~ Party advocates the reduction of the Budget and taxes and customs duties. It is opposed to a State Church. Its expressed object is to help the laboring classes. It favors the reduction of armaments and advocates a small military establishment. While not opposed to conscription, it advocates a short term of military service.

(53) Other

(52) Other

The Partido Socialista Argentino headed by Dr. Alfredo L. Palacios, a former deputy; Labor Party, advocates reduction of imports, exports and all local taxes.

The Partido Internacionalista has advanced ideas.

(18) Caste

(53) (54) (55)

There can hardly be said to be a Civil, Military or Religious "caste".

(19) Classes

(56) Social

The upper class is composed chiefly of Argentines of Spanish descent, though certain prominent families are of Irish, Scandinavian or other descent. The upper class is possessed of great wealth due chiefly to the fact of owning land.

(57) Commercial

The commercial class is largely foreign European and American.

(58) Labor

The labor class is largely composed of Italians, Spaniards and Russians.

(20) National

(59) Foreign

The relations between Argentina and Great Britain are entirely cordial and there are no political questions of importance between the two nations with the possible exception of the fact that Argentina resents, to some degree, the ownership by Great Britain of the Falkland Islands. The Argentine Government has annually expressed to the British Government its desire to own the islands on account of their geographical situation, and this request has annually been met with a polite refusal, as the British title to the islands cannot be questioned. The subject is not one in which public opinion is interested, but it has been suggested that it might possibly be used by Germans, and perhaps is being used by them, to create ill-feeling between the two countries.

For the expression of the opinion of a prominent Argentine Naval officer on the importance of the ownership by Argentina of the islands from the Argentine naval point of view, see: "Intereses Argentinos en el Mar," by Capitán de Fragata Segundo R. Storni, published in 1916 by A. Moen y Hermanos, 333 Florida, Buenos Aires.

The other questions between Argentina and Great Britain are not of a political nature and relate chiefly to commerce.

(21) Business

It is impossible to report briefly on this subject. All concessions granted by the Argentine Government to foreign companies cannot help but affect Argentine politics to a greater or less extent. Information on the subject of foreign business in Argentina can be obtained in great detail from the Department of State and the Department of Commerce. Foreign capital is invested in railways, cable and telegraph companies, wireless telegraph companies, tramway lines, banks, wholesale stores, retail shops, etc., etc., etc., and foreign manufactured articles----- automobiles, agricultural machinery, iron and steel products, railway equipment, locomotives, etc., etc., are sold in Argentina.

Statistics and information on the subject in question can be obtained from the Government Departments mentioned above.

(22) Cultural.

In a country where there is a large foreign population and where the children of foreign parents of all nationalities often remain in the Argentina and become Argentines, considerable effort is made by the State to impress upon school children and others the importance of Argentine history and culture, and to instill a spirit of patriotism. The Argentine Government regards all persons born in Argentina as Argentine citizens. Foreign schools have no political influence.

Among the educated classes the influence of France----its literature, art and culture is far greater than that of Spain.

(32) Breed.

It cannot be said that there are racial questions of political importance in Argentina. Argentina is not a country with a negro population, although there is a small number of negroes residing within the territorial limits of the country. Certain questions with reference to the title to land held by Indians are now under process of adjustment. Such racial questions as might be said to exist in any form would be in relation to the Indians.

It might be added, however, that occasionally certain questions respecting the Indian population arise and the murder of a missionary by Indians was recently reported in the Press.

(35) Language

(104) Present Use.

The language is Spanish. It might be added that largely because of immigration from several European countries, the language has undergone certain changes and the Spanish of Argentina is consequently less like the spoken Spanish of Spain than the Spanish of the other Latin American Republics. It is not wished to venture the statement that a new language is in course of development. For further information on this subject see the works of Argentine writers, some of whom believe that an Argentine language is in course of development.

There is no language/<sup>question</sup> of political importance.

(105) Barrier

There is no barrier.

(106) Group

Spanish is, of course, of the neo-Latin group of languages.

(37) Religion

(110) Actual

The Roman Catholic Church is the State Church and the great majority of Argentine citizens are Roman Catholics. There is in Argentina complete religious toleration. The Latin American Bureau of the Department of State has full and detailed information as to the Roman Catholic Church in Argentina.

There are no religious questions of political importance.

Enclosures:

- 1 Unión Cívica Radical,  
Carta Orgánica  
Comité de la Capital.

REC'D M.I.D., G.S. SEP 10 1920

NO OBJECTION TO PUBLICATION  
IN SERVICE JOURNALS.

3-1 1920 2657-L-8

WAR DEPARTMENT

SUBJECT--APPOINTMENT OF ARGENTINE DELEGATES TO LEAGUE OF  
NATIONS.

From--R.C.---POLITICAL

No.---3103 Date. October 11 19 20.

Replying to No. Date 19

(5) Individual

(16) Special

RESUME OF REPORT

On September 30th, 1920 the Senate confirmed the appointment of the Argentine Delegation to the General Assembly of the League of Nations at Geneva on November 15th.

The delegation is headed by Dr. Honorio Pueyrredón, Minister for Foreign Affairs. The Argentine Minister in Paris, Dr. Marcelo T. de Alvear, and the Argentine Minister at Vienna, Dr. Fernando Perez will accompany the Minister for Foreign Affairs with the rank, for the occasion of Ambassadors.

Comments of "La Nacion" on significance of appointment, showing the traditional policy of the Argentine Republic which in joining the League of Nations, joins a world institution which upholds the principles Argentina has always applied in her relations with neighboring countries.

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Commenting on the departure of Dr. Pueyrredón on October 8, 1920 for Europe "La Nacion" remarks that the rank of the official who will be the spokesman for Argentina in the new institution of Peace and Justice in international affairs, indicates clearly the importance attributed to the event and the wish to show Argentina's support.

The traditional policy of Argentina has been that upheld by the League of Nations, and the fact that the Minister of Foreign Affairs will be the representative insures Argentina figuring with dignity as a member of the League of Nations.

NOTE: Attention is invited to "The Review of the River Plate" October 8th, page 957 describing the incidents which took place in the Senate in connection with appointment of Delegation.

REC'D M.I.D., G.S. NOV 8 1920

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From A Date April 26, 1921 Serial No. 102 File No. 102-100  
(Commence new series each January first) (Select proper number from O. N. I. index.)

Source of information \_\_\_\_\_

Subject ARGENTINA POLICY 2657-L-9  
(Nation reported on.) (Index title for index sheet.) (Subtitle.)

Reference \_\_\_\_\_

**BRIEF.**—(The review, indexing, and distribution of reports by O. N. I. will be greatly expedited if a brief summary of the contents is entered in this space. Mention leading geographical, personal, or political names, and the gist of the report.)

Policy of Argentina. (For the Monograph).

NOTED M. I. 2  
JUN 1 1921

1. Foreign. Like most republics, Argentina has no definite foreign policy. The boundary questions with Chili, Brazil, Paraguay, and Bolivia have long since been settled, and no points of friction remain. All books on Strategy written by Naval officers point to the desirability of Argentine possessing the Falkland Islands and it is said that requests upon Great Britain have many times been made by the Government looking to the purchase of these islands. This however is not a widely discussed question, nor one of general interest. Relations with all countries are amicable. The League of Nations is very much of a dead issue with Argentina; and the withdrawal of her delegates from the Conference in 1920 on account of the small voice held by second rate powers in the League, has met with the general approval of the people.

The only semblance of a foreign policy is the desire of all political parties for the drawing together of and mutual support by all Latin-American powers. This, together with resistance to any semblance of impression of will by the policy of a first rate power (such as the Monroe Doctrine) seems to be the only decided view on foreign affairs that might be called a policy. Argentina belongs in the Latin block in contradistinction to Brazil, Uruguay, Peru, and Bolivia which countries follow U.S. policies.

So far as concerns a probable policy during a general war in which the U.S. is involved, it may be safely surmised that Argentina will remain neutral as long as possible and then will join the side which she considers will surely win the war; and since practically all of her money comes from England (for meat and grains) her interests are best served siding with Great Britain.

O. N. I. Argentine  
R.S. 2657-L-9  
April 26/21

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CURRENT EVENTS REPORT

OFFICE CHIEF OF STAFF  
MIL. INTEL. DIV.

NO OBJECTION TO PUBLICATION  
IN  
JUL 1 1921 2657-1-10

WAR DEPARTMENT

SUBJECT...POLITICAL CONDITIONS IN ARGENTINA

From...ARGENTINA

No. 2222 Date May 23, 1921

Replying to No. Date 19

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The matter which has recently been most before public attention has been the charges made in the Chamber of Deputies accusing Mr. Salaberry, the Minister of Finance of using his official position to help his business firm, more especially in the question of the exportation of sugar last year, charging also irregularities in the exportation of metals, in merchandise in transit, in the exploitation of the Government petroleum stocks, sale of land in the southern docks of Buenos Aires and irregularities in the Customs administration. The House fixed March 30th as the date for the beginning of the discussion of this matter and the debate lasted until April 28th. The parliamentary investigation committees in each case presented majority and minority reports, the former of which was favorable to Doctor Salaberry and the latter, drawn up by a Conservative and Socialist, unfavorable. The matter was brought to the vote, and the result was a tie---73 to 73---until the Radicals succeeded in bringing in three more members, thus giving them a bare majority. Eighteen radical members voted against their party with the Socialist and Conservative block, and this defection on their part is said to be causing considerable anxiety in Radical political circles.

The firm hold which the President has had over the Radical Party and the Legislature during his term of office appears to be gradually diminishing. On entering office, the President had a majority of 102 out of a House of 158.

The party is also split in Buenos Aires Province and Governor Crotto, who, from his entry into office, has shown his independence and unwillingness to follow the President's dictates, has in recent by-elections, been gaining in strength until it came to such a point that the President had apparently determined to intervene in the Province and remove Governor Crotto before the provincial elections take place. Governor Crotto, however, resigned on May 20th.

During the whole month of April Congress was occupied with the debate on the investigation of the exportation of sugar last year, and has done little more than to vote the duodecimal part of the last budget for the administrative expenses of the Government for that month.

After the debate on the sugar matter had been ended and the vote taken, the Conservative-Socialist block withdrew from the House leaving it without a quorum, as they stated that the Radicals had maintained a quorum, and even sent out for additional members to vote when it was a question of vindicating a Cabinet officer, but have always left the House without a quorum when the discussion of the Budget was on the agenda. This stopped all further possibility of legislation before Congress automatically ended on the last day of April, and the duodecimal of the last budget could not be voted for the month of May.

In view of the fact that the President since his assumption of office has each year called Congress to session a few days later than the preceding year, in spite of the Constitutional provision that the session shall begin on the 1st of May of each year, it is thought that this action was taken on the part of the Opposition to oblige the President to call the House to session at an early date in order that the necessary administrative needs might be provided for.

The situation in the Provinces during the month of April was as follows:

In San Juan, Governor Jones was suspended by the House of Deputies and the provisional President of the Legislature asked him to turn over his affairs to him. Governor Jones refused and an interventor, Doctor Ramondo Salvat, was appointed on March 27th.

The situation in Salta was more complicated and a conflict between the Executive and Judicial Powers of the Province took place.

In Tucuman the Interventor postponed until May the elections which were scheduled to take place on March 27th.

Doctor Mateo C. Córdoba was elected Governor of the province of Jujuy.

Financial conditions in Mendoza have been most critical, and a new valuation of real estate, for taxation, has been proposed as the only means of straightening it out.

#### POSTAL CONGRESS

It was recently reported by the Government organ, "La Epoca" that arrangements for the preparation of the South American Postal Congress, to be held in Buenos Aires in August, are progressing favorably. The establishment of a uniform postage rate between all South American countries will be discussed, and this arrangement, if accepted by the Congress, will be submitted for the approval of the International Postal Bureau in Berne.

#### ELECTORAL MAP

The Minister of the Interior is preparing a new electoral map of Argentina to be used in the general elections of 1922.



## ISSUED BY OFFICE OF NAVAL INTELLIGENCE, NAVY DEPARTMENT.

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From \_\_\_\_\_ Date JUL 21, 1921 Serial No. 126 File No. 100-104  
 (Commence new series each January first.) (Select proper number from O. N. I. index.)  
 Source of information Argentine Press, Buenos Aires  
 Subject Argentine Political Parties (Nation reported on.) (Index title as per index sheet.) (Sub title.)  
 Reference \_\_\_\_\_ WAR DEPARTMENT

NOTE.—(The review, indexing, and distribution of reports by O. N. I. will be greatly expedited if a brief summary of the contents is entered in this space. Mention leading geographical, personal, or political names, and the gist of the report.)

## Principal Political Parties and their Platforms.

(For the Monograph)

1. When the revolution of 25th July 1890 broke out, putting an end to the presidency of Doctor Suarez Calman, the situation may be summed up as that constituting an armed attempt on the part of the Radical Party, (Union Civica Radical), as against the party then in power, i.e., the conservative party (Partido Autonomista Nacional). As we have said before, the Radical Party really lost the revolutionary attempt, as they surrendered to the Government, but during the following years up to the commencement of the present Presidency (Arguon) they sustained their principles and platform, some of which have turned into law, but somewhat moderated in form.

2. When we compare the Argentine political system with that of other lands, we note at once a striking difference, more accentuated in proportion generally to the political experience and education of each nation. In the Argentine Republic so far, we may say that elections are really not lost or won so much on the merits of the platform or promises of each candidate, but rather in virtue of the wealth of popularity or previous political history of each candidate; in fact when candidates have attempted to run an election on a definite program only, they have invariably lost.

3. When an election is to be carried out, each party makes a manifesto, to placard the walls of the city, and its central committee makes a list of its best men, as candidates, to the number of seats vacant, and the voter hands in the list of the party he votes for, and generally makes no alteration in the list he sustains; voting is secret, so until the scrutiny of the papers takes place, no party can claim victory.

Socialist Program.

The platform of this party, whose principal number of voters lies in the cities, (Buenos Aires, La Plata, Rosario, and etc.) is made up of the following principal points: (1) Separation of Church from State; (2) Abolition of all special laws against anarchists and etc.; (3) Change of system of taxation so that the proprietors and "bourgeois" shall pay more; (4) reduction of army and time for conscription; "et similibus".

Radical Program

This party made up its platform as follows: (1) Reduction of taxation; (2) Improvement of the lot of the poorer classes; (3) Friendly but neutral international relations; (4) Change of fiscal system to favor of poorer classes; (5) Impartial election: etc.

Conservative or Democratic Program

This party offered as platform, (1) To eliminate

|         |       |          |          |            |             |       |           |         |      |         |         |         |       |           |       |      |
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| Opport. | State | Commerce | M. I. D. | Gen. Board | War College | Naval | Nav. Off. | C. & R. | Eng. | T. & D. | S. & A. | M. & S. | H. O. | Monograph | Disk. | File |
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eliminate the radical system of personal influence in the Government; (2) Reduction of taxation; (3) respect for the autonomy of the provinces; (4) Suppression of illegal measures taken by workmen associations, boycotts, etc. special legislation on this matters; etc.

4. It will noted that there is a considerable similarity between all programs, and that is why I explained previously that in this Republic, it is still more the political custom to take candidates personal conditions into consideration, than programs.

#### Voters

According to latest statistics, in spite of obligation to vote, more than 20 to 40 % of listed voters did not, an ever increasing proportion; of the votes given in the city of Buenos Aires, there was a large proportion of blank voting papers, supposed to be Radical dissidents.

## ATTACHÉ'S REPORT BLANK

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From \_\_\_\_\_ Date May 1, 1921 Serial No. 125 File No. 100-103  
(Commence new series each January first.) (Select proper number from O. N. I. index.)

Source of information A. Wilson-Hae, Buenos Aires

Subject ARGENTINA - POLITICAL CONDITIONS 1921-2657-1-18  
(Station reported to.) (Index title as per index sheet.) (Sub title.)

## Reference

BRIEF.—(The review, indexing, and distribution of reports by O. N. I. will be greatly expedited if a brief summary of the contents is given in this space. Mention leading geographical, personal, or political names, and the gist of the report.)

NAVY DEPARTMENT

M. I. 2.

Argentina - Political Conditions (For the Monograph).

1. The political state of the country in general may be considered as quiet and fairly encouraging at present.

2. Compared with the past history of political evolution in the Argentine Republic, since the early struggle for independence from Spain, favored to a great extent at that time by the fact that Napoleon was giving so much to do in Europe that the Mother country had her hands full and could scarcely dedicate time, and still less men and money, both relatively scarce, to dominate rebel colonies thousands of leagues away, requiring months to go and come by small sailing ships, very liable to attack by enemies and sometimes lost on the voyage. Spain's troops in South America were gradually defeated and little by little withdrew from American soil. After the declaration of her independence, the Argentine Republic passed through several years of anarchy, until General Rosas, Governor of the Province of Buenos Aires, erected himself practically as dominating tyrant and terror of the whole country, represented in the pseudo-autonomous provinces by representatives, or Governors of his liking, more or less independent, and that state of affairs lasted until the year 1852, when his former friend General Urquiza raised the standard of rebellion of the Unitarian party in the Province of Entre Rios, as against Rosas' party, or the Federals in Buenos Aires.

Aided by Brazilian troops and money, as well as some Uruguayans a battle was offered him by him at Caseros, close to Buenos Aires, and after a stiff fight lasting almost all day (3 of February 1852) Rosas was defeated. He took horse, came to the city of Buenos Aires, sent a pencil written resignation of his post as Governor to the House of Representatives, as it was called at that time, and took refuge in the house of the British Minister, Mr. Cowen, in calle Bolivar, close to corner of Venezuela (at present a laundry), where he was protected; he embarked on the British ship "Conflict", and was landed at Southampton about a month afterwards, where he resided for twenty five years, and his grave, as "Brigadier Juan Manuel de Rosas, Governor of the Argentine Confederation", exists in Southampton cemetery.

His ex-friend, rival and successor was General Urquiza, who became President of the Argentine Republic, after a Congress of Provincial Representatives took place at Parana (Entre Rios), and then it may be said that the Government of this country in its actual form, with but slight modifications, was established.

3. In the year 1880 the city of Buenos Aires,

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after a rather bloody revolution, caused by the settlement of the matter, became Federal Capital of the Republic, and not merely of the Province of Buenos Aires, Dr. Avellaneda being President of the Republic at that time. Subsequently, (about five years afterwards), La Plata city was built, more or less on plans similar to Washington, D.C., when Dr. Dardo Rocha (still alive) was Governor of the Province of Buenos Aires. That city has progressed as seat of the Provincial Government, and now has many beautiful buildings, Museum, Observatory, Port, and a University of high reputation.

4. In the year 1890 the Radical Party (now in power) got up a revolution under the leadership of Dr. Alem, (who committed suicide in July 1896) against the National Government, President Dr. Juarez Celman, a man of good parts, lawyer, brother-in-law of the previous President General Roca. Dr. Juarez Celman, leader of the Autonomist Party (Partido Autonomista, later on Conservative) was accused of corrupt political and financial conduct, but after events do not seem to have fully proved it as far as he was personally concerned; nevertheless there can be no doubt that he did not exercise the care required to prevent his friends and partisans making money out of their official position.

5. Dr. Alem, General Campos, and other Radical leaders, amongst whom occupied a secondary position Don Hipólito Irigoyen, were defeated, and surrendered at the barracks they occupied at Plaza Lavalle (subsequently pulled down, and the site is now occupied by the new Palace of Justice). However, although the Revolution, aided by part of the army and fleet failed as a military operation, public opinion considered that the Revolution had triumphed, and the President resigned with all his Cabinet, and the Vice-President, Dr. Carlos Pellegrini took office, the National Bank failed, idem the Provincial Bank and others, and the "Banco de la Nación" as it exists today was formed; gold went to a premium of 400 %, and business anarchy prevailed for about a year. Gradually things righted themselves, and the Radicals did not get into power.

However, unsatisfied, they made another and an abortive attempt in 1893, but that also failed. They continued conspiring and refusing to vote at the elections, under the pretext that there were no guarantees of fairness, until they made another abortive attempt, headed by Don Hipólito Irigoyen, in 1905 (President Quintana's period of office); some ran away, others were caught and deported to Ushuaia, and matter subsided for a time. Irigoyen ran over to Montevideo for a time and stayed there for a while. Afterwards he came back, and was "shadowed" by the Buenos Aires city police for years.

6. During the Presidency of Doctor Roque Saenz Peña the Radical party kept quite quiet, but Dr. Saenz Peña submitted a bill to Congress which was passed, making it obligatory for every citizen to vote, this being the best way to oblige the Radical party to legally act, and take away all justification for violent means to be used for political ends.

7. The Radical party then set to work, and gradually increased in adherents, until in the year 1916 they had the majority in the electoral convention, and their candidate Don Hipólito Irigoyen was named President and Doctor Pelagio Luna, (since dead) was named Vice-President of the Argentine Republic.

8. The new (and actual) President entered into office with general good wishes, but caused considerable deception, when a few days after he published the list of his first cabinet, (some of which still remain), composed of mediocrities, passing over

the really well known and foremost men of his party; needless to say that the latter practically separated from him since then, or keep at a distance.

9. During his Presidency he has not attended the opening of Congress to read the Presidential speech, as all former Presidents have done, and which was really the principal political event of the year, and always attended by all foreign diplomats, consuls, etc.

The President, instead of trying, as his predecessors did, to keep in the best harmony with the Senate and Chamber of Deputies, has shown but scant courtesy to them, and occasionally has despatched them written messages or notes, which have been, (as did the Senate) received as "impertinent".

10. The Radical Party, at the commencement of Irigoyen's period had a very considerable majority over the opposition (Conservatives and Socialists) of about 40 %, but lately about 20 Radical Deputies have become "dissidents", voting against the Government, so much so that on the 28th of April 1921, on the occasion of a bill accusing the Minister of Finance of dishonest manipulations, taking advantage of his official post to do business, the Government only won the day by a majority of three (3) votes; (Radicals 76, Opposition, 73 votes). Now as the Government did all humanly possible to get votes, such an insignificant majority looks very near defeat. In the Senate the Radicals are in minority.

One of the peculiarities of President Irigoyen's administration has been the excessive numbers of posts in the civil administration of the country left vacant for months and for years: Judges, Magistrates, Governors of Provinces, Directors of the National Bank, idem of the National Hypothecary Bank, as well as the posts of "Ministers" of the National Government.

11. Such a state of affairs has made all business with the Government extremely difficult, due to the enormous delays for want of the corresponding heads of departments, and damaged somewhat the financial credit of the Government itself.

12. The principal event of Irigoyen's term of office was undoubtedly his veto against the cutting off of diplomatic relations with the Central Powers, when Germany sunk the Argentine vessels "Monte Protogido" and I think the other one was the "Monte Dinero" - small merchant vessels on their way to Europe, when the German Minister here (Count von Luxburg) suggested to his Government that they should be "apuros versenkt" (sunk so as to leave no trace), and that confirmed popular belief that for some reason or other, the President had a leaning to the Germans; that act ratified the neutrality of this country during the war, in spite of Doctor Pueyrredón's rather fantastic and platonic "belligerencia diplomática".

13. Opinions here are divided as to the beneficial results of this policy of "sitting on the fence", as far as the Republic is concerned, and referring to elections, which may be considered here today as really reflecting popular opinion, the fact is that since Irigoyen entered office, every election shows a slightly less majority than the previous one, and those in Buenos Aires last year scarcely showed a majority much bigger than 10% (about 35 % of voters did not trouble to vote at all). From that, the future may be imagined.

MONOGRAPH REPORT

2657-62657-L-13

SUBJECT NEWSPAPERS IN ARGENTINA

From ARGENTINA --- POLITICAL

No. 2348 Date June 30, 1921

Replying to No. (Replace) Date JUL 27 1921  
U.S. M. I. B. O. C. S.

(17) Political

NEWSPAPERS:

|                             |  |
|-----------------------------|--|
| "Azzaman"                   | Arabic----influential in Turkish and Armenian Colonies.  |
| "Buenos Aires Herald"       | English and American----neutral politics, friendly to U.S.   |
| "Courrier de la Plata"      | French----neutral politics, friendly to United States.   |
| "Deutsche La Plata Zeitung" | German----pro-German.  |
| "Diario Israelita"          | Jewish daily published in Hebraic important among Russian Jews.  |
| "Diario Español"            | Pro-Spanish, politics neutral. Attitude towards U.S. lukewarm seldom committal.  |
| "Di Presse"                 | Hebraic----important in Russian colony.  |
| "El Diario"                 | Anti-Government. Attitude towards U.S. unfriendly but not aggressively so.   |
| "El Pueblo"                 | Catholic newspaper. Attitude towards United States---non-committal.  |
| "La Argentina"              | Pro-Government politics. Attitude towards U.S. hostile.  |
| "La Critica"                | Anti-Government. Attitude towards U.S. non-committal.  |
| "La Epoca"                  | Government organ. Attitude to U.S. non-committal.  |
| "La Montaña"                | Radical party organ. Pro-Government and pro labor. Attitude to U.S. non-committal.   |
| "La Mañana"                 | Pro-Government. Attitude to U.S. non-committal.  |
| "La Nación"                 | Anti-Government. Policy and personnel friendly to the United States.   |
| "La Patria degli Italiani"  | Neutral. Friendly to the U.S. Italian paper.   |
| "La Prensa"                 | Conservative, anti-Government. Not hostile but not warm. Evidenced German leanings during the war.   |
| "La Razón"                  | Independent, but generally favorable to Government. Strongly pro-Spanish. Attitude to U.S. not unfriendly, but sometimes sharply criticises especially in matters of commerce and finance. |

Binding Margin

MONOGRAPH REPORT

SUBJECT... POLITICAL FACTOR-----ARGENTINA

From... ARGENTINA

No. 2330 Date May 31, 19 21

Replying to No. Date JUL 27 1921 19

(Replace)

(17) Political

"La Union"

Messrs. A. Gutierrez Diaz and Rodriguez Vicente are now the managing editors of "La Union". This newspaper was established during the war as a means of presenting German propaganda, but the control has recently passed to other interests, and the editors stated their intention to devote special attention to the improvement of Argentine-American relations, and to this end one of the editors, Mr. Rodriguez Vicente is to visit the United States for the purpose of acting as correspondent for the paper and of giving lectures in various parts of the United States.

(Add)

(51) The Opposition

The matter which has recently been most before the public attention was the charges made in the Chamber of Deputies accusing Mr. Salaberry, the Minister of Finance of using his official position to help his business firm. The matter was brought to the vote, and the result was a tie----73 to 73---- and by bringing in three more members the Radicals gained a bare majority.

The firm hold which the President had over the Radical party and the Legislature during his term of office appears to be gradually diminishing. On entering office, the President had a majority of 102 out of a House of 158.

(Add)

(61) Alien Policies

Chile and Argentina

The visit of President Alessandri of Chile to Buenos Aires was abandoned on account of internal political conditions in Chile. Instead, however, the Chilean Foreign Minister, Sr. Jorge Matte and party arrived in Buenos Aires returning from their visit to Brazil. The Chilians arrived in time for the festivities of May 25th and took part in them. They were much feted during their stay in Buenos Aires.

A press report of some time ago stated that Sr. Matte would discuss the arrangement of an agreement or convention for the stimulation, development and regulation of commercial interchange by the construction of various Trans-Andine railways.

Santo Domingo and Argentina

A press notice recently published stated that the Congress of the Patriotic Committees of Santo Domingo had sent President

Irigoyen a telegram expressing the gratitude of the Dominicans for his constant support of that Republic's cause and its confidence that this support will mean that a happy outcome will be accelerated.

Spain and Argentina

The Spanish Government has decorated Doctor Cantilo, the Mayor of Buenos Aires, with the Grand Cross of Isabella la Católica. This action has been favorably commented in the local press.

(16) Special

(48) Foreign

The Argentine Government has accepted as persona grata Doctor Pedro Cesar Dominici, as Venezuelan Minister in Buenos Aires. Dr. Dominici who is now Venezuelan Minister in London, will be the first Venezuelan Minister Plenipotentiary accredited to Argentina.

(20) National

(Add)

(59) Foreign

There is given below a list of the Treaties of Commerce and Navigation now in force between the Argentine Republic and other Governments:

With the United States of America

| <u>Date</u>  | <u>Place signed</u> | <u>Object</u>  |
|--------------|---------------------|--|
| 1853 July 10 | San José de Flores  | Treaty for free navigation of the Paraná and Uruguay Rivers. |
| 1853 July 27 | San José de Flores  | Treaty of Friendship, Commerce and Navigation.               |
| 1930 Dec. 27 | Buenos Aires        | Treaty for Commercial Travelers.                             |

With Germany

|               |        |   |
|---------------|--------|---|
| 1857 Sept. 19 | Paraná | Treaty of Friendship, Commerce and Navigation.                  |
| 1857 " "      | Paraná | Separate article on the extension of Art. 3 of the same Treaty. |

With France

|              |                    |  |
|--------------|--------------------|--|
| 1853 July 10 | San José de Flores | Treaty for free navigation of the Paraná and Uruguay Rivers. |
|--------------|--------------------|--|



Date  
1882 August 12

Place Signed  
Buenos Aires

Object  
Additional Commerce  
Convention to the  
Treaty of July 10,  
1853.

With Japan

1888 February 3

Washington

Treaty of Friend-  
ship, Commerce and  
Navigation.

With Great Britain

1825 February 2

Buenos Aires

Treaty of Friend-  
ship, Commerce and  
Navigation.

1853 July 10

San José de Flores

Treaty for free  
Navigation of the  
Paraná and Uruguay  
Rivers.

With Persia

1902 July 27

Ostende

Treaty of Friend-  
ship and Commerce.

With Brazil

1856 March 7

Paraná

Treaty of Peace and  
Friendship, Commerce  
and Navigation.

1856 Nov. 20

Paraná

River Convention

1857 " "

"

Additional Protocol

1878 Oct. 22

Rio Janeiro

Protocol on the  
Interpretation of  
Art. 9 of the Treaty  
of Peace, Friendship  
Commerce and Navi-  
gation of March 7,  
1856.

1901 Oct. 30

Rio Janeiro

Convention on Factory  
and Trade Marks.

With Bolivia

1868 July 9

Buenos Aires

Treaty of Friend-  
ship, Commerce and  
Navigation.

1869 Feb. 27

Buenos Aires

Additional Protocol.

With Paraguay

1877 Mar. 14

Asunción

Consular Convention

1908 May 30

Buenos Aires

Convention on  
Cattle Trade

With Portugal

| <u>Date</u>  | <u>Place Signed</u> | <u>Object</u>       |
|--------------|---------------------|---------------------|
| 1876 Dec. 24 | Buenos Aires        | Consular Convention |

With Italy

|              |              |   |
|--------------|--------------|---|
| 1885 Dec. 28 | Rome         | Consular Convention                                     |
| 1894 Jun. 1  | Buenos Aires | Convention on the Treatment of the Most Favored Nation. |
| 1895 Jan. 31 | Buenos Aires | Additional Protocol.                                    |

With Turkey

|              |      |                    |
|--------------|------|--------------------|
| 1910 Jun. 11 | Rome | Consular Protocol. |
|--------------|------|--------------------|

With Sweden and Norway

|              |              |   |
|--------------|--------------|---|
| 1878 Oct. 8  | Buenos Aires | Convention for the Mutual Recognition of Tonnage Patents for the Merchant Marine. |
| 1885 Jul. 17 | Vienna       | Treaty of Friendship Commerce and Navigation.                                     |
| 1885 Jul. 17 | Vienna       | Additional Article.   |

With Denmark

|              |              |  |
|--------------|--------------|--|
| 1882 Dec. 27 | Buenos Aires | Convention for the Recognition of Tonnage Patents of Merchant Marine Vessels |
| 1883 Jan. 9  | Buenos Aires | Declaration on the Recognition of Factory and Trade Marks.                   |

With regard to the Commercial Travelers' Treaty which has been signed by the United States and Argentina, it is stated that the treaty will be submitted to the Argentina Congress. As is known this treaty has already been ratified by the United States Senate.

(16) Special

(48) Foreign

The Ecclesiastical Governor of the Archdiocese of Buenos Aires, Monseigneur Luis Duprat was appointed Special Argentine Ambassador to the celebration of the Centennary of the Independence of Peru on May 25.

It is rumored that appointment was made by the President to placate the Clerical Party whose sympathies he had alienated

by the support given to the Labor Party. The Opposition press, while recognizing the high qualities of the new Ambassador, nevertheless criticize such an appointment as Argentina is not a clerical country.

(Add)

(49) Alien

Dr. Eleodoro Villazón has been appointed Bolivian Minister to Argentina.

Sr. Roque Estrada has been appointed Bolivian Minister to Argentina.

(Add)

(17) Political

(51) The Opposition

The Argentine Constitution provides, in Article 55, that the regular session of Congress shall be held each year from May 1 to September 30. The President has each year postponed calling the session a little bit later.

This year the Socialist-Conservative opposition members of Congress formed a block and met regularly from May 9th on to discuss the possibility of opening Congress without the convocation of the President.

In view of their apparent determination to bring about an early opening, a Cabinet meeting was held on May 15 at which it was decided that Congress should be opened on May 20, and this was accordingly done.

The President, as usual, did not appear before the Congress to deliver his annual Message but sent it to be read. The Message was more or less of a routine matter and has been rather severely criticized in the Opposition Press for its failure to deal with such important matters as the labor situation or correctly to state the financial condition of the Republic.

(Add)

(20) National

(59) Foreign

A propos of the League of Nations and Argentina, the following is translated from the "President's Message":

"The Executive Power had adhered to the idea of a League of Nations, with the object of establishing universal peace. Invited to give its opinion on the draft pact, it refused to advance it in the private and entirely unofficial form in which it was asked, replying that, animated by the fullest inclination, it was disposed to take part in the public discussion with the firm intention to effect the realization and stability of the same, and in accordance with this idea expressed its adhesion without reserve to the essential conception.

Invited later to be present at the public discussion at the first assembly which was held in Geneva on Nov. 15, 1920, among the agenda of which figured the discussion of the amendments of the pact, the Argentine delegation proposed as essentials the principles of the universality of the Society of Nations and of the equality of all sovereign states.

The consideration of these principles being postponed, the Argentine Government believed that without the acceptance of these fundamental bases the ideal, which it had in view on adhering to the League of Nations, to secure peace to

humanity, was not fulfilled and in consequence its accomplishment being postponed, the Argentine delegation proceeded to retire from the Assembly.

(Add)

(51) Alien Policies

On May 24 the Chilean Embassy under Sr. Jorge Matte arrived in Buenos Aires on an official visit to the Argentine Government. Among the matters discussed by this Mission was the strengthening of relations between the two countries and the unification and extension of the Transandine Railways, with particular emphasis on the early completion of the Salta, Huaytiquina, Antofagasta Railway.

(49) Alien

Dr. Harmodio Harías, appointed Minister of Panama in Argentina has arrived, and will shortly establish a Legation in Buenos Aires.

He stated that the mission which his Government had confided to him was to strengthen the ties between Panama and Argentina. "My country", he said, "is the bridge of the universe, and it is only natural that we should endeavor to know our fellow men and make ourselves known to them. Panama is now devoting special attention to the countries of South America, with which it has always had a great desire to enter into closer relationship".

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From A Date May 23, 1921 Serial No. 128 File No. 6  
(Commence new series each January first.)  
 Source of information \_\_\_\_\_  
 Subject ARGENTINA 2657-L-15  
(Section reported on.) (Index title as per index sheet.) (Subject.)

## Reference

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Argentine Republic: Political and social unrest in.

M. I. I.

1. The exports have shrunk enormously. Little money is therefore coming into the country; the trade balance is overwhelmingly against the nation; and the Argentine currency is losing value day by day. In addition to this, the port of Buenos Aires - the commercial solar plexus of the country - is in the hands of a Soviet which paralyzes at will the trade of the entire Republic and greatly increases the cost of living. The business outlook is very gloomy,

2. Dissatisfaction with the Government is general. A treatise on this, given me by Mr. Sutherland R. Maxton, Editor of the River Plate Observer, is appended hereto, giving the author's opinion of the probability of a Revolution - rumors of which are widespread.

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 Navy Department,  
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From A Date 23, 1923 Serial No. 124 File No. 265 76-75  
(Commence new series each January first.) (Select proper number from O. N. I. index.)  
Source of information R. Salaberry, Captain, Argentine Navy  
Subject ARGENTINA (Nation reported on.) (Index title as per index sheet.) (Subtitle.)  
Reference

NOTE.—(The review, indexing, and distribution of reports by O. N. I. will be greatly expedited if a brief summary of the contents is entered in this space. Mention leading geographical, personal, or political names, and the gist of the report.)

Present situation of Argentine Government.

1. There is no doubt but what trouble is threatened if not actually impending in this country, which menaces the power, if not the actual existence, of the present government and of the Radical party. Facts and rumors are volunteered from entirely too many sources totally disassociated, representing the extremes of Argentine life and all the media, to escape this conclusion.

2. As to political allegiance, there no longer seems to be any "happy medium". A man either declares himself a rank outsider, and irrevocably opposed to the Radical party, "and all that therein is", or else he sees a storm coming, either general or individual, in its application, and he gets under cover while there is yet a chance, and allows himself to be "spoofed" from the Radical party patronage pup.

3. On this point a few illustrations might be pertinent. There is an old established firm in town, which is absolutely English in everything excepting the nationality of its partners, and as to that it is Argentine of Scotch descent. The members have criticized local political conditions to me very freely for a long time, and have called my attention to caustic editorials against the president, which did not merely criticize him, but caricatured him without mercy.

4. The other day, one of the firm who has been the hardest of the critics, remarked that while Salaberry was crooked (his honor(?) was "sustained in the House of Deputies by a vote of 76 to 73, his honor being thereby proved by the size of the majority in his favor), the president, of course, was an honest man. This firm sells goods that the government needs. The president has lately been distributing patronage among those who have been outside the fold until very recently.

5. The president has finally accepted the resignation of the Argentine Minister in London, Federico Alvarez de Toledo, who spent most of his time on leave in Buenos Aires. He was a failure as a Minister of Marine; he is an engineer by education, having had a career which is generally credited as lacking in professional distinction and all personal honor. He is definitely reported to have shared in the bribe which was paid for the sale of the "Bahia Blanca" to the government. One outstanding fact of his career is that Vice Admiral Juan P. Saenz Valiente, who was an honorary member of the Naval Club, by virtue of having been Minister of Marine, in accordance with the unwritten law of the club, has resigned his membership, on the ground that the same honor had been extended to private citizens who had held the same office; which is another way of saying that an honor which was sufficiently promiscuous to include Federico Alvarez de Toledo,

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6. Now when the storm was beginning to show its full violence black clouds were gathering above, Silverio de Toledo was "unloaded" and José Evaristo Uriburu, a man of position, character and education, the son of a former president, and a conservative in his tendencies (it is said that he is not even yet a Radical) has been appointed in his place.

7. There is an Argentine family of excellent social standing living in Buenos Aires, who have played their part in the history of this country for generations, particularly in the Army. By birth and breeding, they are as far removed from the present president as heaven is from the earth, and are of the conservative element. But they have a son of about 40 years of age, of American university training, who finds it hard to make a living, because of bad health. Through the influence of Admiral Montea, a place as professor of English has been found for him in the national educational system.

8. He has "seen" a great light on the subject of the actual president of the Republic. And so the chief executive, in his hour of travail, is more concerned with the one or two sheep that may be outside of the fold, than of the ninety and nine that are within.

9. In the meantime, he is heeding the old motto "none but friends on guard" (using the word "guard" in its military sense), and there has been an unmistakable unfolding of a program to that end.

10. Major General Uriburu is in absolute military command in the capital - a man whom my generally well informed friend, Don Juen, said was a military joke. But the important point is that he is a good Radical, which is more important than being a soldier - in the actual situation.

11. Admiral Montea, another good Radical, has been made Vice Admiral over the head of Rear Admiral Juan Martin, a very popular officer, and has been placed in command of the "High Sea Fleet" as they call it here, which shows excellent judgment in view of the fact that the Navy may be called upon to play the more important part in the next uprising, as it did in the last general strike. All of which is fully justified from the Radical standpoint. They may have to fight for their very existence, and the president may find his life itself imperiled, and whatever the disinterested observer may think of it, Irigoyen naturally wants the men on guard who will best conserve his right "to the enjoyment of life, liberty and property."

12. It is significant that the president had a conference at Police Headquarters on the afternoon of May 2, of two and a half hours duration. He had got the impression that the police had not told him all they knew about the situation, and accompanied by two members of his cabinet, he attended there for the purpose of seeing if he could learn anything by cross examination which would justify that suspicion, and justify his doubting the loyalty of the force. As I think I have told you before, I have known for months that there has been considerable spying done on the police, not only as to their acts, but also as to their opinions, and officers and men, about whom there was any question, have been transferred to places where they could do no harm. As a result of this policy, I am told, the police has never been in worse state than it is now.

13. In the meantime, Admiral Martin has been ordered to command the Arsenal of War. In this place he can be watched, and if he shows a disposition to be good, he will probably be given some angle of the local situation to handle, in the event of trouble. And if he handles it as he did it as he did on a somewhat similar situation in the general strike of 1918, in Mar del Plata, there won't be enough left of it, after he is through, to justify pulling in Undertaker Deck. It will undertake itself automatically.

14. At this point a comment must be made very regretfully

15. The public at large know very well the splendid capacity of General Dellepiane of the Argentine Army to deal with elements of disorder in times of uprising. They have had years of opportunity to study his great ability in handling large armed forces, both in times of tranquility and those of emergency. The Radical party has shown quite a bit of diplomacy on occasions in citing some grave defect in a man's personal character as a reason for their failure to use his services more frequently. And it is unfortunately said to be true that he is lacking in self control where women are concerned to an extent that detracts from his value as an officer, and his undoubted powers of command.

#### THE YEAR 1921 IN ARGENTINE HISTORY

16. As to the form which any uprising, at present anticipated, may take I had sufficient information in hand last week, to express two very definite opinions, without fear of contradiction:-

- a. That there would be no trouble on Labor Day, May 1, and
- b. That there would be trouble before the end of the year.

17. A considerable per cent of the public did anticipate trouble on May 1st, and believed that it would be caused by the labor elements. And while the inside information from both labor and capitalistic sources, flatly denied that contention, the government decided to take no chances. I heard some days since that light artillery has been stored at strategic points where it could be used on the spot. And from a first hand source on Labor Day I learned that two details of police, one of 60, and the other of 70, men were on duty all day in Plaza San Martin, and that the Chief of Police was there himself during the day to see how things were going. Through the city, small details of police were abolished for the day, and the men mobilized in large commands at barracks at what were regarded as possible danger points.

18. On the second point, revolution would seem to be inevitable unless the various factions in opposition can find some working alternative program which can be executed without that loss of prestige to the country which must follow in the train of revolution, but one thing seems to be certain and that is that the president must be eliminated, and everything behind him for which he stands. For, as one experienced man put it to me, "it isn't merely a fight against the man".



19. Under this heading, attention is invited to a report from me in your files, of about July or August 1917, detailing a conversation had between Mr. Juan D. Pearson and Mrs. Channoy Aldridge of New York on the main floor of the Plaza Hotel in my sight but not within my hearing, and repeated to me within 5 minutes thereafter by Mrs. Aldridge.

20. Mr. Pearson died very shortly thereafter, but the conversation has a significance today, because he was a brother of Samuel Hale Pearson, who is a power in this community, and for the further reason that the sentiments expressed by Mr. Pearson, deceased, are being spoken today by the "Distinguido" faction. In fact one of that type told me last week that he was greatly distressed and grieved by the present condition of affairs; that he had told a number of his fellow countrymen who have been in the United States that the North Americans must have an intensely poor opinion of Argentina, if they judged it by the present state of affairs; that the class of men now in control were an ordinary lot; that the men of ability were not wanted; that while he saw no trouble ahead that seemed to be immediately impending, he thought that there would be trouble in time, that it would be a revolution but a peaceful one. I asked if he thought it would come at election time (October 12th more or less). He explained "suppose the president does not call an election?" which question just fits in with suggestions which have been made at different times that the President would not relinquish his power willingly; that as he could not succeed himself under the Constitution, he would do the next best thing, either name his own successor or declare himself dictator, which he has virtually done already in the provinces where he has intervened under the law which provides that intervention may be effected by the national government in a province when the president decides that the provincial government does not function at all. When the intervention in Córdoba had terminated and the province elected a new governor, it went anti-Radical, and, the native press allege, to punish them, the President ordered the state railways to impose a discriminating freight rate on the goods from that province, so that their produce pays far more to get to market than produce brought from far more distant provinces, and as a result, many people in Córdoba are suffering great hardship, and their financial ruin seems to be impending.

21. It can be readily understood that such procedure is not making many friends for the president or his party. In fact inside newspaper information is to the effect that there is a strong anti-Irigoyen sentiment rising up in the provinces, all over the country. And once let the vague suggestion that he wants to declare a dictatorship take definite shape, and his opponents will simply accept it as an invitation to start a revolution, on the negative theory of "not if we get there first".

22. And when the revolution does come, as now seems reasonably well assured in many well informed circles, it may result from any one of several causes, either political, as a protest on the part of the better citizenship of the country against bad government, and which fears that sufficient result cannot be obtained through the ballot box, or on the part of the labor element, based on the theory that having got about 90 per cent of all they have demanded from this government, they now want to protest against their failure to get the other 10 per cent (and past chapters of their local history quite justify the idea that they are capable of doing just such thing), or it may result from a partisan feeling in national politics that this is a good year in which to get the opposite party out of power.

23. The first cause would undoubtedly draw the best elements to its standard, and if successful, would effect its victory with the least possible harm, either in life, property or the country's prestige, and it would undoubtedly draw a large "silent vote" - a faction, which for one reason or another, would not openly talk revolution, but would give its support to one started by any decent crowd.

24. Revolution has been freely hinted at, if not openly advocated, for a long time, and even the possible assassination of the president has been discussed in my hearing with the utmost frankness, as a means of relieving the present situation.

25. When the Radical party made its fight in the last election (presidential) it was greatly aided to its victory by a considerable per cent of the Conservative party who felt that their own crowd had been overfed with power, and that the party needed a defeat to cleanse its system of vanity, and while they did not have a high opinion of the Radicals, they counted on that party giving the country a decent, even though mediocre, administration. Some of that element feel now that the administration has not even had the merit of mediocrity, that it has been aggressively bad, inefficient and corrupt. One man who had this view was overheard to remark aloud at dinner in the Jockey Club, one night last year that he had spent a good sum of money to help the Radicals to get into power, and that he was then ready to spend an equal sum to help them get out.

26. As to the second cause, that of an industrial revolution, I had the privilege of reading a report some time since made by the secret service of one of the great railroads, through the courtesy of its sub-manager, and it was very evidently the opinion of the man reporting that any demonstration in force on the part of the labor party must of necessity have the financial backing of the partisan political elements opposed to the present government. In fact a labor demonstration in the province of Santa Fe two or three years since which threatened to be serious but was nipped in the bud by the government was definitely reported to have been largely financed from the Jockey Club. Labor in that province was disposed to inaugurate such a movement, and the cattle Florida crowd were willing to help it along. "Politics make strange bed-fellows".

27. There is still another cause given for expecting a revolution, and that was suggested to me the other day by a man in the street. It was an interesting theory, but those on the inside assert that it has not enough strength to support such movements. That cause is the long standing feud between the president and the governor of the province of Buenos Aires, Doctor Crotto.

28. Soon after the President was inaugurated in 1916, he took steps to intervene in the Province of Buenos Aires, and turned the governor, Doctor Palacios, out of office. Probably none of his official acts has met with less criticism than this one. Dr. Palacios belongs to the old powerful vested crowd interested crowd, and the general feeling was that he was "guilty as charged".

29.

Doctor Cantilo

Doctor Gentile, the present Intendente of the Capital, was appointed interventor and he made a good acting governor. But the statement has been made, and I have never heard it contradicted, that conditions were not found nearly as bad as anticipated. When an election for a governor was ordered, Doctor Grotto was the successful candidate, on the Radical ticket.

29. The President has often been alluded to as a very ordinary type of man. It might be said that Doctor Grotto is even more so, and yet he seems to have more sense of the common kind than Irigoyen, and he gets more support from people outside of his own party. It was not long before he was building up a political structure of his own. I attended a luncheon given to him in his honor by some of his adherents at the Garapachay hotel in Olivos some two years since (etiquettedly it could not be in the capital, because that is the only part of the province where his power does not function). I anticipated that there would be several bucketfuls of gush poured out on his head, to be responded to by a modest disclaimer of any merit deserving of such honor, which disclaimer would take at least an hour to disclaim. Now what really happened was that after some two or three speeches, lasting about 15 minutes each had been made, he waited for a moment to see if any one else wanted to talk, and no one indicating any such desire, he simply bowed his thanks, got up and moved towards the railroad station to return to Buenos Aires. I talked with him for a few minutes and found him to be a good fellow.

30. All this building up of a personal following by Grotto has greatly annoyed the President. He does not want any personal following in the Republic but his own. He wished Doctor Grotto to regard himself as a member of the Cabinet, subject to the President's orders the same as any other cabinet minister. Doctor Grotto has insisted that he got his mandate from the people and that they were his only bosses. Consequently he and Irigoyen have been "off and on again" time after time. During those periods of intermittent peace between the two, the president was also at odds and with his colleague, Doctor Luna, the vice President of the nation.

31. One thing that did not increase the president's high (?) regard for the vice was the rumor in circulation, which had the hall mark of truth on it, that the strong business element of the country was going to bring pressure on him to resign, and make that pressure so strong that he simply could not resist. And that then they proposed telling Luna that if he would give the country a good administration they would back him with all the power at their united command.

32. In the meantime there was a big port strike on which lasted for many months, caused a huge loss in wages and business profits; the Customs House almost ceased to be a source of revenue for the nation. Labor simply announced its royal will each day and an alleged form of republican government made its decrees in strict accordance therewith. Of course things could not go on indefinitely in this way. The country could not live without healthy business to nourish it. So after not having spoken to Luna of Grotto for over 8 months, he sent an emissary to ask their presence at the Government House for conference. What Luna said history fails to relate, but Grotto was cunning and said that he wanted a written request from the President to that effect, in order to be able to prove later who sought the interview. This condition precedent having been complied with, the interview took place.

33. It has been asserted that on that occasion Crotto rose entirely out of the realm of partnership and reached a height where sound politics, sound common sense, genuine statesmanship and real patriotism became exterminous.

34. He spoke sympathetically, according to the generally accepted reports of the occasion, of the president's position in having yielded so much to labor, that while he might regret having gone to such an extreme, he could not now reverse his decrees, for it would make him ridiculous in the eyes of the world. So Crotto proposed that Irigoyen take a vacation of 10 days, at some future date to be arranged well in advance, and deposit his powers for that period to Doctor Luna. In the period intervening before the date of his, Irigoyen's, departure, Luna and he, Crotto, could draft the various decrees needed for a complete reversal of the government's past policy, to give shipping interests a greater liberty of action, non-union labor freedom to work, and to compel union labor to keep within the law. These decrees could be signed and published the minute that the president was out of the way, and the necessary orders could be given for their immediate enforcement, and Doctor Irigoyen could return at the end of 10 days to find them in full operation. And the vice president and Crotto would grant him full power to denounce the former publicly for shameful misuse of power and the latter for having used improper influences.

35. But Irigoyen was not big enough to accept the chance offered him to escape from a ridiculous position, and the scheme fell through.

36. One episode which made life almost unbearable for the president was Crotto's entry into the realm of diplomacy and foreign relation from the government house at La Plata.

37. At one week and about two years since, it was suddenly announced that the next day Sir Reginald Tower, the British Minister, would visit La Plata to pay his respects to Governor Crotto. He arrived in the provincial capital and was received with rather more honors than if he had been going to the "Casa Rosada" to present his credentials. After his speech and the Governor's reply, there was a police parade or something of that character, and a reception by the British colony and a dinner in the evening. So that it was borne in upon Irigoyen's sensitive soul that Crotto was setting up a miniature court of his own, and succeeding rather well at it.

38. Crotto has been repeatedly guilty of acts of political insurgency and disobedience of the president's orders and seems to have the public sympathy in so doing. Finally several months since there came a very serious breach, and according to reports, it terminated in Crotto's promise to be good hereafter, and take his order from the president. But that truce has been broken, and during the past month there has been a more serious break than ever. And Crotto is said to have asserted that if the president carried out his intention of doing certain things already threatened, he, Crotto, would resist the attempt with all the force at his disposition. Which statement gains added significance by reason of the statement, which is accepted as true, that Crotto, under the guise of increasing the provincial police force, which

is entirely under his jurisdiction, and in fact created a small provincial army, and could put up a good fight if necessary. And to return to the text of this branch of the subject, "a man in the street," a Spaniard who has lived here for many years has volunteered the remark to me that he thought a revolution was coming, as a result of the Irigoyen-Crotto feud. But the more intelligent element doubt that theory, claiming that Crotto has insufficient military strength, money or popular backing, and that a revolution does come, it will include such larger problems than the individuality of one man.

39. It is curious to note the number and class of Argentines who are going abroad just now. One "distinguido", who is bitter against the present government, is leaving for England. He predicted a revolution to me last week. "When" I asked. "Before the end of the year" was the reply. "When do you return?" I quired. "At the end of the year" he answered. Major General Vallee of the Argentine Army, recently retired, who has had a duel with the Minister of War, has obtained 18 months leave of absence with the permission to go abroad. It must be remembered that the Argentine government has always been sensitive about retired officers and pensioners spending their stipend in this country.

40. On the subject of financial matters, I might add here that since beginning this report, I have learned that immediately after the vote in his favor, Doctor Salaberry, the Minister of Finance, applied to the Bank of the Province of Buenos Aires for a loan of a million pesos, and that it was refused.

41. I talked with a well known British newspaper man (May 2) who is in touch with both capitalistic and labor circles, and he summed up the situation in this way:- 1. That if the Conservatives, Democrats, and dissenting Radicals can get together, the change can be effected without a revolution. The Socialists will flock by themselves and help neither party.

42. I talked with another well known newspaper man who is supposed to be the most expert journalist on camp conditions in this country, and he has recently travelled over a considerable area of the republic. He says that the sentiment today in the camp is absolutely against Irigoyen, not in one section but all over the country. It is deeper however than that. It is against the whole system in power today. But there will not be a revolution, unless Doctor Joaquin Anchorena can be induced to accept the Conservative nomination for ~~governor~~ governor of the province of Buenos Aires, and enormous pressure is being brought to bear on him to do so, from Corrientes on the north to Chubut on the south. His acceptance would make him a sort of uncrowned king of the anti-radical elements, and would give such confidence in the success of any attempt that it would force the situation. Doctor Anchorena is said to be fully conscious of the fact and to be holding back his answer for patriotic reasons, in doubt as to whether the end weak to be sought is one that would justify him in subjecting the country to the loss of prestige that is likely to result from such an uprising.

43. Doctor Anchorena is probably the most complete of the men who is all things to all men that this country possesses. He has a distinguished ancestry, wealth, university training and professional status (as a lawyer). He has been mayor of Buenos Aires, and for some years president of the Argentine Rural Society, which, while an honorary position, makes him the head and makes

himself never among the cattle men throughout the country. He has a personal magnetism, and is a "good mixer". One old man who has known the political game here for many years says that Leonquin Anchorena is ~~as~~ a good fellow but he doubts his capacity to lead a revolution, but this journalist says that he had regarded him as a light weight until he had an opportunity of seeing how he handles the cattle owners, which includes the hard job of keeping the camp element contented.

44. One of the dangerous features of a revolution in this country is that the radicals make "bad losers". The bad feeling excited by their defeat shows a capacity, literally, to survive "unto the third and fourth generation", for their failure in the nineties was still active in the hatred thereby engendered, when they made their fight in 1919, and there is no doubt but what there would have been a revolution here in that year if their candidate had not been counted in.

45. In this connection there is transmitted herewith two articles from the Buenos Aires Herald dealing with the angle of provincial politics:-

May 4, 1921. "The Buenos Aires Affair", translation from editorial in "La Nacion" of the previous day.

May 5, 1921. "Arrested Provincial Police".

46. This report was drafted before I saw these articles, in fact before they were published, but they corroborate what I have said as far as they go.

47. The above comprises some rough notes hastily thrown together containing arguments pro and con as to the chance of there being a revolution in this country in the near future. My personal feeling is that it is a close question, but that the chances are against it in about the proportion of 51 to 49.

In conclusion I can only add that during the year 1918, the Pacific Fleet arrived in the River Plate from Rio de Janeiro. It was stated in the local press that it had come to these waters on another friendly visit to Montevideo. The report was current here that that was simply an excuse; that they had selected Montevideo as a convenient point from which to watch developments in the general strike then pending in Buenos Aires. One Englishman in Buenos Aires who regarded this explanation as being the correct one, volunteered the statement that he felt great satisfaction in the consciousness that there were 4000 American sailors within easy steaming distance of Buenos Aires.

MONOGRAPH REPORT

SUBJECT... POLITICAL NOTES... ARGENTINA

From... ARGENTINA

No. 2368

Date... July 14

, 19 21

Replying to No.

Date

REC'D: M. I. D. U. S. AUG 19 1921

(Add)

(50) "Ins"

(for Leaders: see (15) (44))

It is reported from a very reliable source concerning possible choices as presidential candidate of the Radical Party in the coming election, that Sr. Marcelo Alvear, Argentine Minister in Paris, is the President's choice for the post.

Some three weeks or a month ago, Sr. Oyhanarte, a close friend of the President, who was one of the three deputies who voted at the last moment in favor of the Minister of Finance in the sugar investigation in the House of Deputies in the month of April, went to Paris to offer Sr. Alvear the presidential candidacy of the Radical Party, with the right to choose himself the candidate for the vice-presidency.

(Replace)

(16) Special

(48) Foreign

Dr. Albino Pughalín, recently Chargé d'Affaires in Japan has been appointed Argentine Minister in Ecuador; and, Sr. Julio Cezar Gancedo has been appointed Argentine Charge d'Affaires in Japan.

(Add)

(49) Alien

Sr. José Austria, Advisor of the Venezuelan Foreign Office, has been appointed First Secretary of the Venezuelan Legation in Buenos Aires and delegate to the Pan-American Postal Congress.

Monseigneur Giovanni-Beda Cardinale has been appointed Papal Nuncio in Argentina in place of Monseigneur Vasallo di Torregrossa who will go to Munich as Nuncio.

Sr. Harmodias Arias arrived in Buenos Aires on June 8, and since that date has been endeavoring to interest the Argentine Government in the Panaman-Costa Rican boundary dispute. With the exception of an interview published in "LA NACION" the day after his arrival, there has been no editorial comment or other press articles with regard to this matter with the exception of one or two press despatches from Washington in regard to the Panaman mission now in the United States.

Dr. Guillermo Saenz, who until now has been First Secretary of the Chilean Legation in Paris, has just been appointed First Secretary of the Chilean Legation in Argentina.

(Add)

(31) Alien Policies.

#### CHILE AND ARGENTINA

Dr. Pueyrredón, the Argentine Minister for Foreign Affairs stated that the object of the Chilean Mission headed by Sr. Matte was to be one purely of courtesy and in connection with the unification of Transandine railways and further development thereof.

In effect shortly after the departure of said mission Dr. Pueyrredón stated that no agreements or conventions had been signed with the mission during its stay here, but that informal verbal understandings had been come to with regard to the construction of two more Transandine railways---one from ~~Salta~~ from Salta through Huaytiquina to Antofagasta, and the other in Neuquen from Zapala to the Chilean port of Talcahuano. The unification of the present Transandine line was also considered. The northern line is the one most favored by the Argentine Government whilst Chile favors the Southern one.

The Matte Mission can perhaps be summarized as follows:

1. No treaties or agreements were signed.
2. Understandings were arrived at by which the Salta-Antofagasta and Zapala-Talcahuano railways are to be built immediately.
3. A commercial treaty, with a view to free exchange between the two countries, may probably be negotiated after the completion of the Transandine railways.
4. The Tacna-Arica and other political questions were not discussed other than by an explanation of Chile's attitude and contemplated action in the first matter, and of its position vis-a-vis the League of Nations.
5. The mission expressed a desire to strengthen relations between the two countries by all possible means.

(Add)

(20) National

(30) Domestic Policies.

On June 9, the Senate ratified conventions on practically identical terms with Italy and Spain by which reciprocity is to be accorded in the payment of indemnities for labor accidents.

(Add)

(17) Political

(50) "Ins"

On June 3 the majority members of the Budget Committee of the House presented their resignations. First six Radical members of the Committee resigned, giving as their reason that in view of their vote in the recent sugar investigation contrary to the Minister of Finance, it would be disagreeable for both them and Dr. Salaberry and contrary to public interest for them to remain on the Budget Committee. These members were dissident Radicals and their resignation left the Committee under the control of the Irigoyenist Radicals and the opposition members of the Commission thereupon resigned stating that it was useless



for them to work in office. They will be unable to make any of the necessary decisions of the President. A number of the Committee have been selected, consisting of individuals, some of whom are said to be very practical or experienced in financial matters.

(A11)

(12) Organization  
(131) Industrial

A law limiting the hours of labor, except in certain cases such as domestic servants, agricultural and stock farm laborers, to eight hours a day, was passed. The House also passed a bill in regard to railwaymen's habitations and a new labor code was submitted to the House.

A law was also passed providing for the pensioning of the personnel of private companies performing public utility functions.

PUBLICATION REPORT

3-1

2657-L-17

AUG 31

SUBJECT ARGENTINE - PARAGUAYAN BOUNDARY QUESTION.

From ARGENTINA

No. 2404 Date August 1 19 21

Replying to No. Date REC'D. M. I. E., G. S. - AUG 30 1921 19

In the Bulletin of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Worship (for the month of June 1921) were published a note and documents recently sent by the Argentine Minister of Foreign Affairs, Dr. Pueyrredon to the Paraguayan Minister, señor Sagüier, respecting the solution of the boundary question between Argentina and Paraguay.

In the note the Argentine Minister stated that:

"This Ministry has taken very much into account the statements made, not only in the note sent by the Paraguayan Legation, but also verbal statements of the Paraguayan Minister of Foreign Affairs, Dr. Ayala, some time ago, respecting the desire of his Government to close up the boundary question between this Republic and that of Paraguay inasmuch as the Pilcomayo is concerned.

In compliance with the wish expressed, the greatest attention has been devoted to the study of this matter, and the conclusions set forth in the exposition hereto attached show the attitude of the Argentine Government, which has arrived at the only possible solution, as is clearly demonstrated.

Trusting that the Paraguayan Government will coincide in this respect by recognizing the justice of said conclusions, etc."

The exposition or statement referred to above opens with the declaration that it is unwise to have boundary questions pending, and then goes on to make a careful study of the antecedents leading to the conclusion that the boundary is perfectly established by preëxisting conventions, without its demarcation being carried out in the manner in which ulterior Protocols attempted to solve it, thus changing the situation definitely accepted by the Treaty and the decision of the American President Hayes. The statement continues:

"By making a hydrographic question out of what was a judicial one, the matter has been removed from the only grounds on which it could be established, exposing us, thereby to losses, which, in addition to their territorial value had that of sovereignty.

In negotiations undertaken fifty years later, it was attempted to show which was the principal branch of the Pilcomayo, when, if any doubt existed, it would have been to know what was this branch at the time of the treaty of 1876, which made it the definite boundary line, and marked it as such on the maps forming a part of the aforesaid treaty.

If anything requires solution, it would only be to ascertain if that branch of the Pilcomayo has disappeared, therefore the natural limit would no longer exist, and in that case

Binding Margin

the operation would be reduced to mark out again on the terrain the line indicated by the old maps of Mouchez and of Brayer, and in accordance with their co-ordinates to establish once again the pre-existing boundary.

In order to apply to the present time that which happened before, as the Protocols of 1905 and 1907 have not been carried out, a study has been made--- as evidenced by this report----- and the Argentine Government adds the following antecedents as a solution to the question involved:

- 1.--- Argentine claim to Bahia Negra, recognized by conventions and sustained until the Treaty of February 3, 1876. Gradual cessions to Paraguay going down from north to south.
- 2.--- Argentine cession from Bahia Negra to Rio Verde (23°10') on Mouchez's map.
- 3.--- The boundary lines were established in the Treaty of February 3, 1876.
- 4.--- The question to be elucidated is a judicial one: the application of the Treaty, not a geographical one, as was understood by error by those who signed the Convention of September 11, 1905, (R. Larreta-Caminos) and the complementary one of February 1, 1907, (Zeballos-Caminos).
- 5.--- The solution is a simple one: comparison of the maps of Mouchez and Brayer with the terrain. These maps are part of the text itself of the Treaty.

The Minister terminates this part of his report by stating that the demarcation of the boundary by the Pilcomayo River between the Argentine Republic and that of Paraguay is clearly set forth in the Treaty of February 3, 1876, and its application simply implies the carrying out of said diplomatic act without ambiguity.

The doubts which have arisen respecting it, disappear by applying it to the letter; the certainty of its clearness is made manifest by taking its source into account, and from these negotiations the definite Treaty arose.

These antecedents and the considerations which they demonstrate are the only application of which the Treaty admits."

Chapter V of the Minister's Report is translated below as it gives a summary of the status of the case at the present time:

"The Treaty prescribes that the Rio Verde is the one which empties in the Paraguay at 23°10' S.Lat., and that the Rio Pilcomayo is the one that empties into the Paraguay at 25° 20' according to Mouchez' map and at 25° 22' according to that of Brayer.

The channel or principal branch that these maps show is the boundary which the Treaty indicates.

Geographically, therefore, the branch or principal channel was determined, and there was not then, nor at the present

time, any need for Commissions to determine it.

It is sufficient to look up Brayer's and Mouchez's maps, which showed the course of the Río Verde, in order to fix the boundary of that strip of territory that the Argentine Republic ceded to Paraguay---coming from the Bahía Negra.

These same maps also served to mark the principal branch of the Pilcomayo. With these geographical elements the landmarks or milestones denoting the boundary line were placed.

Not only are they a part of the Treaty, but as has been demonstrated, these maps served for reference by the negotiators of the Treaty, and in negotiations prior to same.

Hence, which is the principal branch of the river in the maps of Mouchez and Brayer---that is to say, in the Treaty ?

Having ordered the drawing up---on the same scale---of copies of these charts and of the most recent map of that region, and by placing one on top of the other, it will be seen that the branch or principal channel of the Pilcomayo River of the Treaty follows the course of the North or Eastern branch of said river.

The matter being considered thus under its real aspect it is solved in accordance with the claims of the Argentine Republic.

In this way also historic antecedents are corroborated; conventional precedents (Treaty of Alliance of 1865, etc.); the rights invoked by the Argentine negotiators; the cessions made by the Argentine Republic little by little as a proof of its friendship for the neighboring country, granting territory from north to south. Furthermore, it is made manifest that the judicial interpretation we give to the Treaty of February 3, 1876 is exact, which leads on to the comparison of the maps of Mouchez and Brayer, and to the evidence that the boundary expressly agreed upon---logical consequence of these antecedents---is the present north branch of the Pilcomayo River".

To the above was attached a study of the Chief of the Division of International Boundaries, Engineer Z. Sanchez, concerning the maps of Mouchez and Brayer, accompanied by a table of differences noted by the Commission with reference to the position of the principal points, also the diplomatic antecedents of the various negotiations which originated the fixing of the boundary with Paraguay.

The Argentine press confined itself generally to a synopsis of the Minister's note, report and accompanying documents, no comment being made. The Paraguayan press has taken a very different attitude as will easily be understood.

"El Liberal" (Asunción, Paraguay) under date of July 3, 1921 published a lengthy comment, a synopsis of which follows:

"With the greatest surprise we have received the text of the Argentine note which the Chancellery of Argentina has considered convenient to publish. It is useless to try and hide the unpleasant impression which the unexpected attitude of the Argentine Government has produced in Paraguayan circles. This in view of the further claims made by Argentina which reveal little generosity and justice which inspired them, and the attempt to contradict the unmistakable conclusions sustained by the Technical Committee (which had Argentine experts among its members) and which arrived at its decision on the basis of a

careful examination on the same grounds which now it is pretended to discuss."

Further and lengthy articles have continued to appear in the Paraguayan press on the subject, all in the same note of indignant and pained surprise.

SUBJECT---POLITICAL FACTOR---ARGENTINA-----

From ARGENTINA-----

No. 2417-----Date August 4-----, 1921

Replying to No.-----Date-----, 1921

(Add)

(15) Unofficial  
(44) Leaders

In regard to the possible candidacy of Sr. Marcelo Alvear, at present Argentine Minister in Paris, to the Presidency, it is firmly believed in political circles that he is President Irigoyen's choice. Although in theory the Radical Party's candidate will be chosen by a Party convention, it is reported that President Irigoyen has firm control over the party.

Other information is to the effect that the presidential candidate will be chosen from among the following five men: Sr. Cantilo, Sr. Alvear, Sr. González, Senator Saguier and Senator Gallo.

(Add)

(61) Alien Policies.

#### Argentina and South America.

The Minister of Panama in Argentina, Sr. Harmodio Arias, endeavored to interest the Argentine Government in taking action with a view to the settlement of the Panama-Costa Rica boundary dispute and the following is a translation of the reply of the Argentine Minister of Foreign Affairs to Sr. Arias:

"In reply to your communications on the differences which have arisen between the Republics of Panama and of Costa Rica concerning boundary litigation, I have the honor to state that the Argentine Government has adopted, as a standard of procedure, concerning interference in the relations between neighboring countries in America, to only interfere on the request of both parties, in a conciliatory manner and as a friendly arbitrator.

Hence as the case in point is a matter already decided by arbitration, the Argentine Government does not consider itself in a position to confer the good offices required in this emergency".

Following the publication of this note in the press "La Epoca" (The Government organ) under date of July 21, stated that the reputation of the Argentine Government on this continent was so great that other nations submit their disputes to it for decision.

2657-L-19

SUBJECT THE APPROACHING PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS

From ARGENTINA

No. 2419 Date August 4, 1921

Replying to No. Date SEP 6 1921

At present there only exists one party properly organized all over the Republic, and that is the Radical Party; there are dissenting groups from this party all over the Republic.

The Conservative opposing party works under diverse denominations, and separate political directors; they coincide in their opposition to radicalism, but it is a difficult matter to unite them under a common flag, or chief, which would mean unity and efficacy.

Respecting socialism, this party is not in a position to be able to fight the dominant party, outside the city of Buenos Aires. In the remainder of the Republic it has no cohesion, nor has it a sufficient number of votes, to make it worthy of entering in any calculation of probabilities.

The Radical Party, like all political parties which get into power, suffers from important dissensions, and if such be to the extent indicated by provincial newspapers, then the conditions of this party to face the coming struggle, are very doubtful.

The most serious dissension in the Province of Santa Fé was arranged when the time came to elect the present President; hence it is reasonable to suppose that as long as quarrels are a local matter, arrangement is impossible, but when its consequences might have a national importance, then party discipline gains the day.

There exist but few reasons for a really serious party division; these differences among Radicals have always existed. Thus it is probable that in case of any further dissension taking place, the only result will be the withdrawal of members of certain prestige, but without any electoral weight, or at least not sufficient to affect the fate of the Party as a whole.

In such provinces in which the Radical Party dominates the situation, there also exist dissidents; constitutional questions and Federal interventions in such provinces have not been brought about by opposition parties, but by fractions of the Radical Party itself.

This is what has happened in the Province of Mendoza, where there is no opposition Conservative Party, and consequently the matter is still easier to settle.

In the Provinces of Santa Fé and Tucuman, it can scarcely be said that matters are in a better state; a fresh intervention is announced also for the province of Salta.

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In the Province of Entre Rios, the dissensions appear to be more serious, and there metropolitan radicalism obtained a victory. It was supposed, as amongst the opponents of Presidential policy were to be found the ex-Governor Laurencena, Dr. Melo and other important political figures of that province, that the opposition there would be dangerous to the unity of the party, and endanger its success in the elections of April. However, due to the latest statements made by the provincial committee it is understood there will be no real dissensions.

Respecting the other Provinces, it would be a difficult matter to form a number sufficient to rout the Radicals, and in the majority of cases it would be very difficult to change the direction of the political wind, if such be not effected by politicians in Buenos Aires.

In the provinces, the tendency of the metropolis is easily followed; the same was the case when the National Party was in power. This is the permanent seduction fomented by the Government House, over provincial politicians.

This is one of the peculiarities of the federal system, which governs over Argentina in theory if not in practice. In politics, education, sanitary works and everything else, all is looked for from Government House in Buenos Aires.

There are two provinces, those of Córdoba and Corrientes, where the Radicals were defeated at the last elections. Up to now, everything induces us to believe that the democratic or liberal majority will subsist even though the Radicals say they will gain the elections in these provinces.

In the Province of Buenos Aires, the situation of radicalism implies a struggle: however it is not considered that there is any great risk for the moment of losing the majority, but nevertheless, it will have to fight a well prepared adversary.

The election of municipal authorities and members of the Provincial legislatures, which took place at the beginning of the year, has proved to the Radicals that their majority is by no means assured in all the districts of the Province of Buenos Aires.

The Socialists have but a small electoral capital, as compared with that of their adversaries. In national general elections they are of no political value whatever, as the majorities that count are those which have the highest totals.

Nevertheless, in provincial elections, this is not the case: there they enjoy proportional representation, according to the total of votes. The electoral convention of the Province is formed by a number of electors, equal in number to the provincial Senators and Deputies; each party has its electors proportionally to its numbers.

In accordance with this disposition, this party has gained five seats in the Provincial Legislature, and it is believed that it will obtain two more in the 1st and 2nd districts, in which in the year 1918, it had none, as the Socialists then had an insufficient number of votes.

However, if under these circumstances, this Party were to have eight electors, then the Radicals might find themselves



in difficulties, as the Socialists might vote for the Conservative candidate.

Consequently, the Radicals must beat the Conservatives by a majority superior to the total number of the votes of the Socialists. The Radicals must gain by a difference of 10,000 to 12,000 votes, and if they do not, then their enemies may come out with a majority in the electoral convention for the election of Governor or Vice-Governor of the Province. This danger however does not exist; possibly with respect to national elections, in which the majority will certainly be Radical, then the minority will be made up of Conservatives, and then the Socialist Party will have elected no members at all.

The probabilities seem to favor the Radicals: however, it remains to be seen what will be the attitude adopted by the dissidents from this Party, and the value of their withdrawal at the time of the elections.

The number of electors to be named by each Province is as follows:

| <u>Province</u>     | <u>Majority</u> | <u>Minority</u> |
|---------------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| Buenos Aires        | 59              | 20              |
| Federal Capital     | 46              | 23              |
| Santa Fe            | 28              | 11              |
| Entre Rios          | 15              | 7               |
| Corrientes          | 12              | 6               |
| Cordoba             | 23              | 11              |
| San Luis            | 7               | 3               |
| Tucuman             | 12              | 6               |
| Salta               | 7               | 3               |
| Mendoza             | 11              | 5               |
| Santiago del Estero | 11              | 5               |
| San Juan            | 7               | 3               |
| Catamarca           | 6               | 2               |
| La Rioja            | 6               | 2               |
| Jujuy               | 6               | 2               |

Total number of electors, 376:  
Majority 189:

The Radicals have triumphed at national and municipal elections for the last seven years; only at one municipal election were they defeated by the Socialists.

## PUBLICATION REPORT

3-1

2657-1-21

SUBJECT... POLITICS IN ARGENTINA AND PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN

From... ARGENTINA

No... 2433

Date... August

1921

Replying to No...

Date...

SEP 26 1921

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The preliminary skirmishing for the forthcoming Presidential election contest has fairly commenced and the political atmosphere is charged with electricity. The six year term of office of Dr. Irigoyen does not terminate till 13th October 1922, but his successor has to be elected about the beginning of April, 1922. It is but logical, therefore, that electioneering should begin now. The Radical party came into power for the first time in 1916, under the operation of the reformed electoral law (promoted by President Saenz Peña) which made voting obligatory and secret. The Party was returned by a large majority, and until comparatively recently it would have seemed quite safe to prophesy that it would be successful in the next campaign. Even now, it would be rash to anticipate the contrary, but it cannot be denied that the Party has been appreciably debilitated lately by internal dissention and, to some extent, by growing public disapproval of different aspects of Governmental action.

In spite of the fact that President Irigoyen is a Radical---- that is to say one of those who fought for thirty years against every form of individualism and in order that within the Republic no one should set himself up above the law----yet once in the seat of power, in the Government of the Nation, he has imposed as gross a form of individual rule as that which he previously combatted. This has disillusioned and wounded the Argentine democracy; both Conservatives and Radicals are bestirring themselves to combat what they claim to be an imminent danger for the Republic-----namely, that President Irigoyen may set up a Dictatorship, hence it is their desire to take steps to avert the peril in time.

It is notorious that some of the most prominent and influential members of the Radical Party both in the Senate and in the Chamber of Deputies, have for some time past differed with the party headquarters and Government House. Then the practically unanimous vote in the Lower Chamber last Tuesday repudiating the thesis of the President of the Republic that Congress had not the right to call the Executive to account, for non-compliance with laws voted by it, is a further significant sign of the times. A political sensation has been caused by the publication in the daily press of a lengthy open letter addressed to the President of the Republic by Dr. Castellanos, Governor of the Province of Salta. Until a year or two ago the President and the Governor were good friends, but politics, alas! has come between them. The open letter referred to is a detailed and bitter criticism of the President's political career. The most important political development however is the constitution of the new "National" party to contest the Radicals at next year's election. This new party lacks an official name for the

moment, but the deficiency is to be made good at an early date.

The new political organization came into being at a largely attending meeting held in the city of Buenos Aires on August 13th under the chairmanship of Dr. Francisco Beazley. Its object is to bring about a concentration of all the groups, political and otherwise, opposed to the Radicals. Presumably it will soon announce a candidate for the Presidency. It has issued a manifesto inviting the adhesion of all entities desirous of preventing a continuance of the present regime for a further period. The existing Government is criticised in this manifesto with relentless severity, and attention is called to the danger of Dr. Irigoyen promoting successfully the candidature of a nominee of his own. In this connection, nothing is yet known as to who will be the Radical candidate for the Presidency. Amongst several names which have been mentioned are those of Dr. Vicente Gallo, a distinguished lawyer and Senator; Dr. Cantilo, the present Municipal Intendent; Dr. Marcelo de Alvear, the Argentine Minister in Paris; Dr. Tomas Le Breton, Argentine Ambassador at Washington---and others.

On their part, the Radicals are not allowing grass to grow under their feet, and the reorganization of the party has been started.

The Radical Party is organized on the federal system which permits it to work its mechanism very efficiently when once started.

Each one of the provinces and the capital has as a principal local authority, its convention, which meets to proclaim candidates for local elections.

The convention of the capital (Buenos Aires) will comprise 6 delegates from each one of the sectional committees, which are renewed by halves each year in the month of August.

On August 28th the election of members of the Convention will take place, and those elected then and last August will become members of the convention of the capital to take place next October. This Convention will be a very important one indeed for the party for thereat will be designated the

Party candidates to the Presidency and Vice-Presidency of the Republic, the Radical Senator for the Capital as well as electors for said Senator. Finally Radical candidates for national Deputyships will also be elected.

In the forthcoming national elections to take place on the first Sunday in April of 1922, 82 Deputies are to be elected. Of these 79 will be for 4 years and 3 for 2 years. These Deputyships are distributed as follows:

|                      |    |
|----------------------|----|
| Federal Capital----- | 13 |
| Prov. Bs. Aires----- | 18 |
| " Sta. Fe-----       | 9  |
| " Entre Rios-----    | 8  |
| " Corrientes-----    | 4  |
| " Córdoba-----       | 6  |
| " Sgo. del Estero--- | 3  |
| " Mendoza-----       | 3  |
| " San Juan-----      | 3  |
| " La Rioja-----      | 2  |
| " Catamarca-----     | 2  |
| " Tucuman -----      | 5  |
| " Salta-----         | 3  |

79

The above covers the representatives whose term of office ceases in 1922. There are besides these three vacancies---one for the Federal Capital, one for the Province of Entre Rios

and one for the province of Santiago del Estero---making a total of 82 vacancies in 1922.

In accordance with the law, the following table shows the majority and minority members in the elections of 1922. The system applied is that of the so-called incomplete list:

TO BE ELECTED IN 1922

|                 | <u>Total</u> | <u>Majority</u> | <u>Minority</u> |
|-----------------|--------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| Capital         | 14           | 10              | 4               |
| Buenos Aires    | 18           | 12              | 6               |
| Santa Fé        | 9            | 6               | 3               |
| Entre Rios      | 8            | 6               | 2               |
| Corrientes      | 4            | 3               | 1               |
| Córdoba         | 6            | 4               | 2               |
| Sgo. del Estero | 3            | 2               | 1               |
| Mendoza         | 3            | 2               | 1               |
| San Juan        | 3            | 2               | 1               |
| La Rioja        | 2            | 2               | -               |
| Catamarca       | 2            | 2               | -               |
| Salta           | 3            | 2               | 1               |
| Tucuman         | 5            | 4               | 1               |
| Jujuy           | 2            | 2               | -               |
|                 | <u>82</u>    | <u>59</u>       | <u>23</u>       |

CONFIDENTIAL REPORT

2657-21

SUBJECT--POLITICAL SITUATION IN ARGENTINA AND PRESIDENTIAL  
CAMPAIGN

From--ARGENTINA

No. 2493 Date October 22 19 21

Replying to No. Date NOV 18, 1921

In connection with Report # 2433, dated August 24th the following additional information is forwarded concerning politics in Argentina, which, in view of the proximity of presidential elections are a subject of great interest at this time.

It is still impossible to give any accurate information in regard to the candidates of the Radical party in the coming presidential election. However, one thing in regard to the Radical Party is certain: The President is not in accord with the other leaders of the Party, and the way in which these differences will be adjusted will be the determining factor in the nomination of the Party's candidate. The President has certain definite preferences, and it all depends upon the degree in which he is able to bring the other party leaders into line as to how many of these preferences he will be able to make definite candidates.

Dr. Elpidio Gonzalez, until the 2nd of September Chief of Police of Buenos Aires and now in Córdoba Province to reorganize the Radical Party there, would be the President's choice for Vice-Presidential candidate. Sr. Gonzalez can perhaps be described as a henchman of the President. Whatever the President tells him to do he will do and, although he is most spoken of now as vice-presidential candidate, it is stated by well informed Irigoyenist Radicals that he is the President's preference for President. President Irigoyen's ideal ticket would be Elpidio Gonzalez for President and Sr. Loza for Vice-President. However the majority of the party leaders, and among them the most prominent and important are opposed to the President's personalist policy and to any attempt on his part to continue his influence in affairs after his term of office shall have expired. For this reason they would be against Gonzalez to the last ditch, and the President has therefore never advocated or spoken of Gonzalez in any connection other than to let it be understood that he favors him for vice-President.

Just now the President allows the impression to become current that he is now most in favor of Senator Saguler for the Presidency, but, should he not be able to have him accepted by the Party, it is stated that he would then take Alvear.

The dissident Radicals recently held a meeting to consider steps necessary to take to bring about an immediate reorganization of the party, and defeat the President's intention of appointing a candidate to succeed him.

If the selection of a candidate is left freely to the Radical Party convention, Senator Gallo of Buenos Aires City will receive the nomination by a very large majority. He is the real choice of the party. The President, however, is absolute-

Binding Margin

ly. . . . . Galle at the coast. He was opposed to his nomination as Senator from Buenos Aires City but, on that occasion, had to give into the will of the Party. He then told Galle that he and all along been his opponents and would tell the situation with the best grace possible. It now remains to be seen whether Galle will be so strong that the President will again have to give in to him. If he does, it will be the end of the personal rule of President Irigoyen.

It has been stated that President Irigoyen if unable to carry through his views in the Party convention, will disband the convention and go to the elections without candidates, merely with candidates for electors in an endeavor to swing the votes of the electoral college to his candidate. This is a somewhat and uncertain and dangerous procedure.

There are a great many administrative posts, both within the Republic and in diplomatic missions abroad, which are now vacant and have been for some time, and it is rumored that the President has left these positions vacant for the express purpose of having a means of rewarding friends who will help him in the in the convention, or as a sop to the friends of Senator Galle to make them withdraw their support from him. A prominent Argentine banker has said that he does not think this will be as effective as expected, as although the President will have positions to give, the others will have money and he seemed to think the latter will be more effective.

The President's strength has heretofore been the blind allegiance given to him by the general mass of the Party. There is no question that he has been and still is the real head of the party. With the populace he is considered a superman and they have heretofore been with him to the last man.

The concentration of opposition parties is meeting with considerable difficulties in spite of the number of adherents which continue to come to it.

The real difficulty in the way of forming the coalition appears to be encountered in three men---Dr. Benito Villanueva, the President of the Senate, Sr. de la Torre, the President of the Democratic Progressive Party, and Sr. Marcelino Ugarte, who was Governor of Buenos Aires Province until the Province was intervened with Sr. Cantilo as interventor. These three men are all said to be hostile one to another and any two will combine against a third, no matter who he may be. It is further said that Sr. Villanueva is the real stumbling block. Sr. Rodolfo Moreno, Jr. is the protégé of the latter and his candidate for the presidency. Indications at present point more and more to Sr. Alberto Piñero as coalition presidential candidate.

Deputy Antonio de Tomaso, Secretary General of the Socialist Party, in an interview published on the 3rd instant, stated that the Irigoyen system must be fought by four or five clear principles of policy. He stated that he considers it necessary to reform the national constitution in order to establish parliamentary government and the election of the President of the Republic by Congress. He considers this last the indispensable complement of the new electoral law in order definitely to overcome the dictatorial and corrupt personalism of Argentine politics. He then stated that it is necessary to cure the currency, depreciated by the policy of the present Government which has Dr. Salaberry at the head of the public treasury. This, he stated, could be brought about by opening the Caja de Conversion, and permitting the free exportation of gold. This last simple point, he said, would be sufficient in the United States to act as a pivot for a presidential electoral campaign.

The Democratic Progressive Party met on September 13th and addressed a manifesto to the country stating that the Republic is

is in a critical hour of its civil life, without organic parties and with an electorate without definite convictions and concrete ideals. After attacking the party in power, it stated that the duties of the Democratic Party are: (a) democratic and progressive orientation in the political, social and economic order; the defense of the federal regime and of the powers of Congress; the effective responsibility of the members of the administration for acts which exceed their constitutional attributions; absolute publicity of all acts of government and administration and the suppression of secret diplomacy; the diffusion of primary instruction and the consequent increase of its resources; the organization of the sanitary defence of the country; the reform of the tax system on the basis of a diminution of the fiscal and customs duties; (b) The suppression of taxes for the importation of articles of prime necessity; (c) The levy of an import duty up to 50% on articles of luxury; (d) The suppression of internal taxes as a national resource; (e) State monopoly of tobacco and alcohol; (f) Tax on the greater value of the land; (g) A tax on absenteeism; (h) A progressive income tax; the passing of an organic budget law of a permanent character which would (a) incorporate in the annual law of receipts and expenditures all the income and disbursements of the Government; (b) classify all expenses according to their nature; (c) consolidate for five years the permanent expenses; (d) establish the category of departments; and (e) fix the grade of public employees; the expropriation by the State of conveniently situated lands in order to be sold in lots to the farmers on easy payment conditions; the establishment of public employment; the reform of social legislation, (a) fixing the maximum work-day of eight hours, (b) mixed commissions of conciliation and arbitration, (c) minimum salary, (d) payment of salaries in specie, (e) insurance against sickness, invalidism and old age, (f) legislation in regard to professional syndicates, and (g) laws which encourage and develop mutuality and co-operation; reform of the codes in vigor in order to adjust them to the actual interests and aspirations towards a greater social justice and the amelioration of the juridical condition of woman.

MONOGRAPH REPORT

247-L-23

SUBJECT POLITICAL NOTES ----ARGENTINA

From ARGENTINA----POLITICAL

No. 2451 Date September 15, 1921

Replying to No. Date OCT 12 1921, 19

(Add)

(16) Special  
(49) Alien

Dr. Antonio Caso, Ambassador Extraordinary on a Special Mission of the Mexican Government to Argentina arrived on September 10th.

On being interviewed he stated that his mission was to express to the President of Argentina the recognition of the Mexican Government for the Special Embassy sent by Argentina at the inauguration ceremony of General Obregón.

Dr. Caso has also been representing his country at the celebration of the Centenary of Peru, was on a similar mission as that which brings him to Argentina in Chile, and will also visit Uruguay.

Dr. Caso expects to stay in Argentina about two weeks, and will devote himself to encouraging intellectual interchange with Argentina by Mexico.

(17) Political

(Add)

(50) "Ins"

Dr. Elpidio González, Chief of Police of the Federal Capital, has resigned and his resignation has been accepted by the President of the Republic.

Dr. González is to take charge of the work of unifying the Radical groups and directing the forthcoming presidential campaign in the Province of Córdoba.

(Add)

(52) Other

Dr. E. del Valle Iberlucea, the only Socialist Senator, died on September 19th, 1921.

Dr. del Valle Iberlucea achieved no small notoriety in view of his Marxist theories, and on the occasion of the Socialist Congress in the city of Bahia Blanca he made a speech advising the adhesion of the Argentine Socialist party to the Third International Communist Party of Moscow. For this speech, Senator Iberlucea was impeached and was to have been prosecuted for sedition when his untimely death put an end to the matter.

(Add)

(20) National  
(50) Domestic Policies.

ARGENTINA AND THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

by the press  
It was remarked that on the opening of the sessions of the Second Assembly of the League of Nations, Argentina



was not represented, though there is nothing to show that Argentina has ceased to be a member of the League of Nations which she joined by a note dated July 18, 1919.

It is true that the Argentine Delegation to the First Assembly retired from same, but it was never made clear what was the exact meaning or effect of this attitude of the Delegation.

Hence it is generally felt that the real position of Argentina inasmuch as the League of Nations is concerned is equivocal. Argentina's place at the Assembly is vacant, and if another delegation is not sent to fill it, then an official statement should be issued making clear Argentina's position in this international problem.

(Add)

(23) Cultural

(66) Alien

On the occasion of the inauguration of the Cervantes Theatre---built almost entirely with Spanish capital by María Guerrero and Diaz de Mendoza, the famous Spanish actors---who are also large shareholders in the enterprise-----a telegram was received from King Alfonso sending his congratulations as King, Spaniard and friend---on this great undertaking which it is expected will do much to bind closer the bonds of spiritual affection between Spain and Argentina.

PUBLICATION REPORT

76-7-24  
NOV 19

SUBJECT THE INTERNATIONAL POLICY OF PRESIDENT IRIGOYEN

GEORGE L. GORDON  
Capt. and J. R. A.

From ARGENTINA

No. 2495 Date October 18, 1921

Replying to No. Date, 19

The following is the synopsis of a series of articles published in "La Epoca" (the Government newspaper) from June 15th to June 30, 1921.

The Argentine Republic is passing through an unparalleled period, and for the first time she has stood erect in the fullness of her sovereignty, facing the other nations of the world. During the last decades the Republic was a secondary entity within the community of states; her foreign policy, contradictory and excessively timid placed her in a subordinate position. Many were the humiliations suffered by her sovereignty while tolerating foreign tutelage and interference.

Furthermore, it may be said that the principal error of almost all of our former administrations was lack of faith in the moral capacity of the Republic.

Argentine Democracy and European Democracy.

As the most honored "consequence" of her spiritual development, the "Rights of Man" proclaimed by the French Revolution, Europe needed several centuries of bloody strife: religious, feudal and dynastic wars, not to mention intrigues, treasons, crimes, etc.

The South American Republics came into being free, recognizing and declaring as the cause of their existence the most advanced democratic ideals.

In Europe, after the Revolution, republican ideas developed so slowly, that even in France, the cradle of the revolutionary movement, presidents and monarchs alternated in power during sixty-three years of the 19th century.

In Spanish America, on the contrary, the revolution was propagated so extensively and so rapidly that the cause of independence triumphed in a few years, and the few attempts at monarchial reaction were punished by the people. The greatest political aspiration of the Argentine Republic---real and concrete democracy, and the triumph of truth in her institutions was achieved by the secret and obligatory vote, and the will of the elector is protected by inviolable guarantees. And not only has political liberty been acquired, but also the liberty of action and of conscience.

Pacifist Desires of the Argentine People

The history of Argentina's international policy presents an unsurpassed example of generosity and desire for peace. The country began her life as an independent nation cooperating for the emancipation of her sister peoples "without exacting

Binding Margin.

submission or demanding readjustment". Years later, "to keep the peace of the continent," she submitted her boundry disputes to arbitration, adhering faithfully to the most unfavorable decisions, and in the Par. Guayan war, when, after a stubborn struggle her troops were victorious, she formulated a principle never pronounced or repeated by any victor: "Victory gives no rights." With such lofty claims to democratic vigor and moral capacity, how can one justify the attitude of "eternal inferiority" under the yoke of the disgraceful tutelage beneath which the Republic languished during so many years?

#### Argentine International Policy under the Administration of Dr. Hipolito Irigoyen.

The hour of justice has arrived, and the country has just entered upon a period of reaffirmation and idealism, and the mission of proclaiming same to the world, including the Argentine conception of the rights and duties of nations has been reserved for, the, in many ways, historic administration of Dr. Irigoyen.

In order to appreciate fully the merits and loftiness of the international policy of this administration, it is necessary to:

- (a) Know the doctrines underlying it.
- (b) Interpret exactly the conduct of Argentina during the final period of the European war.
- (c) Understand the motives behind the Argentine attitude before the League of Nations.

#### Doctrines:

Until recently the only things known about Argentine opinions and desires with regard to international affairs were fragmentary insinuations: isolated historic facts, and some idealistic, but "essentially personal" conceptions formulated by Argentine administrators and diplomats.

#### Fundamental Conceptions:

From the first day the Irigoyen Administration has revealed itself as the enemy of theorization upon possibilities, but all of its acts harmonize and are complementary, and are inspired by one unchangeable conception---the Argentine one that all independent states are by definition "sovereign", "equal" and "responsible".

#### Respect for the Sovereignty of Foreign Nations Increases International Solidarity.

The rupture of diplomatic relations between the United States of America and the German Empire brought about the intensification of allied propaganda in the South American Republics.

During that critical period the Argentine Government maintained with energy and pride her position as a neutral, but respectful of the sovereignty of other states. She did not wish to follow the example of her sister countries; Brazil, Bolivia, Peru, Uruguay, etc. which, one after another, broke their diplomatic relations with the Central Empires.

Yet when it was feared by Uruguay that the German colonists were being fostered to insurrection by the German Government in the southern provinces of Brazil, involving an invasion from the northern part of the Uruguayan territory, the Uruguayan Government brought the matter to the knowledge of President Irigoyen, asking what would be the attitude of the Argentine Government in case Uruguay should approach the President with a request for military supplies for the arming of the militia. President Irigoyen informed the representative of Uruguay "that in case of such an attempt, the Argentine Government would aid to its utmost in the defense of the sovereignty of the Uruguayan nation, assuming the responsibilities resulting from such action."

Thus by means of a simple governmental act, President Irigoyen succeeded in defining in the highest possible terms the Argentine conception of continental solidarity.

#### Responsibility

President Irigoyen, depending upon the precepts of the constitution, has denied to Congress all unnecessary interference in the foreign policy of the country, and has entirely reserved to the Executive Power the responsibility of diplomatic relations.

The Argentine Ambassadors and representatives in foreign nations are under the President himself, "true agents who have to adjust their actions to instructions couched in terms both positive and complete." These facts are emphasized because there are some opponents who labor under delusions on this head. A morning paper insistently demanded official approval or disapproval of the stand taken by Senor Pueyrredon in the Assembly at Geneva. This paper believes without doubt that the Argentine Republic is sending abroad ambassadors and representatives equipped with full power, in order that they may speak and act of their own accord, and benefit or harm the country in accordance with the opportunities which they may improvise. But the acts of the present government are definitive; they are the result of one directing force. "The Executive Power has solved as one man, in important ministerial agreements, the fundamental problems of internal and external affairs, taking as a basis for such solution the idealistic principles sustained by President Irigoyen. As a consequence of his rigid conception of "responsibility", President Irigoyen includes among other unacceptable measures the mere severance of diplomatic relations. In the opinion of the Argentine Government, the breaking off of relations and the declaration of war constitute a single indivisible act.

#### Diplomatic Sincerity.

No one will dare to say at the present time that the international policy followed until today by the nations of Europe has been good or even tolerable. The spirit of the famous European equilibrium, neatly defined by a recapitulation of its three factors is: Armed peace, secret pacts and the system of defensive and offensive alliances or "ententes", a system which has converted conflicts of a limited nature into a general disaster.

In Argentina, the new Government which came into power as a consequence of the triumph of democracy, began its work by breaking with the past and creating for its present and future guidance a new standard of values. To a diplomacy of deceit, fear and abruptness, it opposed an international policy of honesty, confidence and serenity". It is precisely in this new conception of international policy where one should look for the causes underlying our neutrality and our attitude before the Geneva Assembly. The Argentine Republic has given repeated proofs of her distrust of alliances and secret pacts, and diplomatic intrigues, secret pacts and imperialistic alliances will never find a field for propagation in this true democracy, which is so jealous of its sovereignty.

#### Pacifism

The pacific desires of the Republic surpass all known precedents. We have submitted our international disputes to arbitration on occasions when such a proceeding was considered exceptional; and we only accept war as an extreme recourse, to be justified only by grave causes, such as the violation of our national sovereignty and dignity, but never for utilitarian motives. At the present time, all armed aggression is the result of purely utilitarian designs.

The Monroe doctrine, accepted by Dr. Irigoyen in the name of an Argentine government, has been repudiated and combatted "before and since that date" by Drs. Roque Saenz Pena, Manuel Quintana and other Argentine diplomats who protested and opposed, in the university, in parliament and in the press, against the pretensions of the North American Imperialists, the contradiction in the designs and attitudes of "a government itself" and contradiction among the international tendencies of "different governments".

#### Argentine Neutrality in the European War.

Only an attack upon Argentine sovereignty without immediate reparations, or an offense against her national dignity without the giving of absolute satisfaction would have justified this country's intervention in a struggle opposed to the ideals of the Argentine people on account of its "designs and methods of procedure". Not only has the government of every democracy the delicate mission of watching over its national sovereignty and honor, but it also must assure to its citizens the benefits of peace until all lawful recourses and all peaceful methods of causing a nation to be respected have been exhausted. President Irigoyen knew how to give these principles the highest interpretation. His stand has been termed "belligerent diplomacy" for during that critical time, the government sustained a persistent effort to preserve peace without consenting to the slightest damage of sovereignty or prestige of the country.

#### Errors and Culpability of the Previous Administration.

Under the Irigoyen administration no decrees were signed declaring "the strictest neutrality during the existence of the state of war". These unconditional promises, opposed to the best known principles of international law, bear the signature of the former Minister for Foreign Affairs and Worship. There are eight decrees of neutrality, one of them extends to "seven nations". Yet under the previous administration, that is to say, the administration when said Minister, Dr. Murature, was in office, the troops of Germany invaded---for reasons of mere military convenience, the territory of a sovereign nation, assaulted an Argentine Consulate and murdered the Consul, sacked the archives and destroyed the national coat of arms. By order of President Plaza, investigations were initiated. Little more was heard of the matter.

#### Sinking of Argentine Vessels by German Submarines.

(MILITARY ATTACHE'S NOTE: In the original articles and translation thereof all the communications exchanged between the Argentine Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the German Government are given. As these documents are very lengthy, and in essence, already known to our government, only the following is transcribed---summing up Argentina's final stand which she was forced to take as apologies and excuses notwithstanding, German submarines continued to sink her vessels:)

"The divergencies of opinion existing between the government of His Imperial Majesty and the Argentine government must be settled by reference to inalterable principles and concepts". The fullness of Argentine sovereignty, an attribute of which is immunity from the law, protects those acts which she must carry out in order to maintain her community of interest with the rest of the world, and it is not possible to admit that, while she fully guarantees the persons and property rights of German subjects in the Republic, Argentine interests on the seas may be attacked and destroyed by the Imperial warships. The Republic

The Republic 'suffered' as a neutral state the negative consequences of the war, but she cannot consent to the legality of actions and acts perpetrated in accordance with conventions to which she is a stranger or on account of the impositions of a struggle in which she does not participate. It is inconceivable that our natural products can ever be considered as contraband of war, and they have never figured as such in the treaties to which she is a party. They are the fruits of the nation's toil in her struggle for existence, not for the satisfaction of war's demands, but from the normal necessities of humanity. The Argentine government cannot therefore, recognize that the interchange of the natural products of the country can be the object of a belligerent qualification restrictive of her rightful liberty of action and entailing the diminution of her sovereignty." Before the inflexible stand taken by the Argentine Government, the German Minister in Buenos Aires, Count Luxburg proposed a draft of a "Declaration" and one of a "Protocol" which were to be signed respectively by the German and Argentine Governments. These drafts were as follows:

Declaration: The Imperial German Government, notwithstanding the objections which could be offered to the fundamentals upon which the Argentine claim is based, in its desire to maintain the good relations which they have always cultivated and responding to the friendly sentiments reiterated by both parties in this opportunity of giving them a great and lofty sanction in the question of the sinking of the steam ship "Toro", resolves to submit in this case to the same terms as those involved in the case of the "Monte Protegido", and is disposed to reimburse the Argentine Government for the monetary loss occasioned by the sinking of the "Toro" over and above the amount insured.

The Imperial Government recognizes the liberty of Argentine ships to navigate the seas, according to the principles of international law, and guarantees that its navy will act in accordance therewith.

Protocol: The Argentine Government, in view of the existing dangers to navigation "will arrange that no more ships carrying her flag will clear with the intent to enter the war zones established by the different belligerent governments. The Imperial German Government will permit the passage of those Argentine vessels which are at present on the high sea and which are bound for the war zones established against Germany's present enemies, on a round trip voyage to the country. " The Protocol was refused absolutely by the Argentine Government just as it refused every similar declaration or "promise". The draft of the "Declaration" was telegraphed to Berlin.

After receipt of the declaration above mentioned, the German Minister Luxburg received a communication from his Government to the effect that the Imperial Government "animated by the desire to maintain its old and cordial relations with the Argentine Republic had decided, after a re-examination of the question of the Argentine S.S. "Toro", to indemnify the Republic for the damage caused by the sinking of the said vessel, and to subject the fixing of the amount thus to be paid to the same procedure as that applying to the case of the "Monte Protegido". The Imperial Government further stated that "it declared that the liberty of the seas for Argentine ships constituted one of its principal objects in this war. Consequently it is gratified to recognize---although its liberty of action is limited by the illegal procedure of its enemies----the standards of international law, and will endeavor to comply with them. The Imperial naval forces have orders and instructions in accordance with these points of view. "

The writer asks---on what page of Argentina's national history is to be found such a diplomatic victory?

Thus once more the just and energetic policy of an idealistic government triumphed where the ambiguous and shameful administration of a Government without confidence in itself, without faith in the power of truth and usurper of a popular representation which never belonged to it, brought only failure.

#### Neither Weak nor Unpopular.

After comparing the attitude of President Irigoyen with that of his predecessor---now could the conduct of President Irigoyen be stigmatized as Germanophile and weak?

Sympathy for such a people as the Germans is not censurable in itself, but governments are obliged to cement their international relations upon such a rigid basis of equality that every leaning towards one side or the other would be characterized as a serious error.

The Government would have been weak if it had submitted to the demands of other governments or to the impositions of political enemies; it would have been weak, if it had permitted the Republic to align herself with certain countries which broke diplomatic relations, and even declared war on a people who may have been in the wrong, but who were fighting besieged by legions of enemies on the eve of imminent defeat.

#### Hours of Anxiety:

It is an inveterate law that belligerent states employ the most varied means of compromising neutral nations in their favor. However until the late war they had never had recourse to such extreme methods. The Argentine Republic, a cosmopolitan country, producing cereals and cattle, a country in which there are large amounts of foreign capital invested, was subjected to a long siege. Schemes were laid and the most audacious means were employed against her, against her neutrality and Government. But all was in vain; the Executive Power remained steadfast while within the country and abroad new attempts were being made and new weapons were being forged.

#### Stratagems:

Facts were falsified, fabulous sums expended and wasted in verbal and printed propaganda. Newspapers and periodicals were subsidized; pamphlets, manifestoes, and handbills were published; meetings and conferences were organized in halls and in the open air; hundreds of clubs were formed; all for the purpose of exciting the minds of the people. At the same time attempts were made to intimidate the government by financial pressure. The extension of loans for short periods was refused; certain units of certain belligerent squadrons paid us "visits of courtesy", which were entirely unseasonable, as their only purpose was to violate our neutrality; secret telegrams which were offensive to this country and which had been interchanged between the German Foreign Office and its representative in Buenos Aires, Count Luxburg, were intercepted, translated and made public in North America "without previous notice" to the Argentine Government; foreign capitalists instigated strikes and other conflicts of a social and political nature. Argentina was menaced with commercial isolation, and the withdrawal of foreign capital; our loss of prestige was announced to the civilized world; we were to be excluded from the League of Nations; we were accused of egoism and ingratitude.

However, neutrality has placed us in a position diametrically opposed to that prophesied by the rupturists. The Argentine Republic far from struggling hopelessly in a state of commercial

...with a market for her products, or credit for her undertakings; for from participation in her at all condition of an insatiable desire"; she converted her self into a lending nation, and is liberally distributing among all the European peoples---conquerors and conquered alike--- wheat from her fields, meat from her herds and flocks, and even manufactured products from her factories.

#### The Supposed Disgrace.

Our disgrace before the civilized world which was prophesied has not taken place. Instead we have never received such evidences of cordiality and sympathy. Chile, Austria, Uruguay, Poland, Hungary, and all the peoples of Europe and America turn towards us, not in a passion of loyal paternity, but with a gesture of gratifying and respectful surprise. And there are arriving at Buenos Aires ambassadors, statesmen, sociologists and bankers coming from North America, Spain, Italy, England and France to tighten the bonds of friendship, to foment economic and intellectual relations, and-----what is even more gratifying-----they come without that air of authority, without that sweeping and depreciatory sufficiency with which they treated us in other days.

#### The Cause of Justice.

The European war was a "complete and fatal consequence" of many and very different factors: long hatreds, reciprocal misunderstandings, economic rivalries, colonial policies, etc.

In Argentine the serene spirits which from on high observed that formidable strife was soon aware that in the tempest of idealistic motives were few and far between. It was during those hours of passion and blood, that the Argentine Republic proclaimed through President Irigoyen as her spokesman:

The cause of Belgium is at the present time "the cause of independence, and of the law of nations; and humanity would be wounded in its most profound sentiments if the principles in which it trusts were not eternal and sacred. I believe in the power and in the sovereignty of those principles which have never been altered in the history of the world."

#### Wilson's Fourteen Points.

What happened to the famous principles formulated by President Wilson? How many are now in operation? Did the Argentine Government make a mistake in not attributing to them an efficacy out of all proportion?

The allied and associated nations won, but President Wilson's fourteen points were wafted away by the smoke of the last discharges. The present Irish situation, the North American naval program, and the subsequent attitude of the North American President in regard to the Fiume question are proofs so positive that they need no comment.

#### The League of Nations and the Argentine Attitude.

"During the initial period of the war the North American Republic was the first neutral nation in which serious and methodical attempts were made to establish "a league to preserve peace." In January 1915 began a series of conferences in the "Century Association" for the purpose of discussing the ground work and approving the basic principles of the projected institution.



On January 1918, the President issued his famous program of foreign policy in which was included the following suggestion: "There should be formed a general association of nations under regulated agreements, in order to give mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to the large nations as well as to the small."

When it came to a settlement the allied nations believed it convenient to include the basis of the League of Nations as an integral part of the treaty. Why did they do it? What end did they seek? Did they perchance believe that by means of that apparent concession to the North American people the latter could be inveigled into assisting them to impose the inhumanitarian designs of the victors?

It is believed opportune to transcribe a few remarks made concerning "true democracy" and the success of the then future League, made a propos of it by the Argentine Minister of Foreign Affairs, Dr. Pueyrredón, at the farewell banquet given to the Belgian Minister to Argentina:

"In drawing the people of the world together, civilization calls upon them all to do their part for humanity; thus there are neither small nor large powers, one and all are efficient and indispensable factors. For this reason the desire to unite the nations in a firm association, such as a supreme tribunal of justice, is not a Utopian conception; it is a reality readily attainable, and upon the wisdom with which it will be constituted depends the sovereign stability of the nations and the internal well-being of the world at large."

Minister Pueyrredón made this important speech on December 10, 1918, three months before Argentina was officially invited to take part in the future League.

#### Argentine Initiative.

If President Irigoyen had been in power when the war broke out, his doctrines would have been unanimously approved by all the nations represented in the proposed Latin-American Congress, which was never held owing to the fact that the weakness of the previous administration had allowed the Republic of the North to assume once again the tutelary role with respect to the entire continent, and to obtain from various Central and South American Republics their promises to cooperate in the strange undertaking of working for peace by means of war or-----the breaking off of relations.

The Latin American Congress would possibly have resulted in the most happy and practical beginnings of the future League of Nations; but unfortunately, the present can in no way remedy the serious errors of the past.

#### Colonel House's Invitation:

By telegram dated March 12, 1919, the Argentine Minister in Paris, Dr. Marcelo T. de Alvear, informed the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Worship that he had received an invitation to attend a private and entirely unofficial conference to be held on March 20th. The Minister for Foreign Affairs, Dr. Pueyrredón answered the dispatch instructing Minister Alvear that he was authorized to be present at the aforesaid meeting, giving him also instructions to the effect that the Argentine Government accepted in principle the formation of the League of Nations, but that there should be no distinction between belligerents and neutrals; that the Central Powers should not be excluded from public conferences, and lastly that the Argentine Government was disposed to concur in the general discussion in a whole hearted manner and with the intention of assisting in the realization and stabilization of the projected League of Nations.

#### Adherence to Principles:

In consequence of its pacific desires and the international doctrine which it sustained, the Irigoyen administration had repeatedly shown itself to be in sympathy with the idea of an association of nations, and had manifested its desire to cooperate by all the means at its disposal in the triumph of that most noble aspiration.

In a telegram sent to the Argentine Minister in Paris it was stated to him that the Argentine Government had two high motives in accepting the invitation of Colonel House.

a) To cooperate in the triumph of the "idea" considered in itself independently of the errors of procedure which can later be rectified..

b) To maintain the right which belongs to the Argentine Republic and to every sovereign state to take part in the congresses in which principles and questions of general interest to all nations are to be discussed and decided.

#### The Argentine Theory:

On July 18, 1919, in accordance with instructions from the Argentine Government, Minister Alvear sent the Note of Adherence to Sir Eric Drummond, and five days later (July 23) Secretary Drummond replied stating that the League of Nations was not yet legally constituted, and desired to know if the Argentine Government desired to adhere to the League of Nations "as soon as the ratifications of the Peace Treaty shall have endowed the League with the necessary powers." On July 29th Minister Alvear answered that the Argentine Government adhered to the League of Nations, and that this adherence would be ratified when the Chambers approved the act.

Yet on January 10, 1920, the President of the Supreme Council of the allied and associated powers, M.G. Clemenceau, sent the Argentine Government a telegram which apparently had the intention of annulling the adhesion of July 18 to which no reference whatsoever was made in the new invitation. In this telegram the Argentine Republic was invited to adhere to the Covenant of the League of Nations within two months of the putting into force of the Treaty. It appears that the Supreme Council of the allied and associated powers, simulating ignorance of the Argentine adhesion in July, was trying to oblige the Argentine Republic to enter the League at a date subsequent to January 10, 1920.

The first public reunion or official assembly of the League of Nations was to begin its work in Geneva on November 15, 1920.

The Executive Power of the Argentine Republic with the prior consent of the Senate, appointed the delegation which should represent the country, designating as chief thereof Dr. Honorio Pueyrredon, Minister of Foreign Affairs and Worship. The delegation received complete instructions.

In a newspaper interview Dr. Irigoyen formulated among others the following declarations:

"From the documents published by the Argentine Government it is evident that the Argentine delegation at Geneva did not permit itself to depart in the slightest degree from the path that had been so clearly and definitely laid out. Its mission was to present the fundamental Argentine proposals, and upon their being accepted depended the adhesion of Argentina to the League. But our proposals were treated in Geneva as 'annexes', while in reality they were fundamental bases for the League. Without the participation of all the states a League of Nations is impossible. The Government has had no relations with the League since the withdrawal of our delegation from the Geneva Assembly."

That the League should be according to the Argentine Concertation.

The Argentine Government, through its representatives at Geneva proposed as a previous question, before any other whatsoever, the action of the Assembly upon the four following essentially fundamental propositions:

1. The universality of the League.
2. The equality of the nations.
3. Effective and identical responsibility for all States adhering to the League.
4. The functions of the League not to be retroactive.

Upon the acceptance or the refusal of these principles depended the continued presence or the withdrawal of the Argentine representatives at the Geneva assembly, because these four propositions truly enunciated the permanent foundations and immovable bases for the only international policy which could bring about an era of peace and justice among the peoples of the world.

#### The Definition of Principles.

As stated above, such were the fundamental principles which the Argentine Government laid before the Geneva Assembly to be voted on publicly or given priority. Dr. Iriyogen directed Minister Pueyrredon, President of the Argentine delegation to "explain those doctrines in a speech which will embrace them all and allow them to be appreciated as a whole and in relation to one another." Dr. Pueyrredon carried out this mission and having faithfully and fully explained the "Credo Argentino" before the Assembly, that delegation proceeded to assume an energetic and dignified attitude.

#### The Withdrawal of the Argentine Delegation.

By order of President Irigoyen the Argentine delegation declared its mission to be finished, and this withdrawal was approved by the Executive Power unreservedly.

#### Failure of the Geneva Assembly:

What are the problems which the Geneva Assembly succeeded in solving? It was expected to influence decisively the fate of the Russian people, it promised to better the grievous situation of Armenia, it proposed to approve definitive bases for future disarmament; it was going to remedy the misery and the plagues existing among the most afflicted peoples; but Russia, Armenia, the plague, hunger and armaments "go on as before". The Geneva Assembly has beaten all records for uselessness.

#### Conclusion.

I have limited myself to sketching a methodical synthesis of "documentary facts" which are known to the public. The adversaries of the present administration may distort them, but they can never prove that I have lied. The pages which explain it all present, as an example and a lesson to coming generations, one of the most brilliant fragments of our country's history.

In my opinion the international policy conceived and carried out by President Irigoyen surpasses the most honored antecedents of diplomacy.

There are unity and loftiness in its principles, firmness in its demands, energy in its acts, scrupulousness in its methods of procedure and unlimited faith in the moral forces of the nation and of humanity. The preceding pages emphasize these

merits, but there is one that can only be appreciated by considering it in its entirety: I refer to "its unity":

Unity of permanent idealistic principles, unity of transitory considerations, unity between those principles and these suggestions, and unity between the ends and the means taken to realize them.

MONOGRAPH REPORT

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE

7417-2-25

NOV 19 21

SUBJECT...POLITICAL FACTOR----ARGENTINA

From...ARGENTINA----POLITICAL

No....2496 Date...October-17....., 19 21

Replying to No..... Date...NOV 18 1921, 19

(Add) (30) National  
(61) Alien Policies.

On July 28, 1921, Mr. Laurence Ginnell arrived in Buenos Aires as Minister from the so-called "Irish Republic" to endeavor to interest Argentina in the independence of Ireland.

(Add) (60) Domestic Policies.

On July 11, the Argentine Government published certain further correspondence relating to the withdrawal of the Argentine delegation from the Assembly of the League of Nations at Geneva. The correspondence began with a letter from the Secretary General of the League, Sir Eric Drummond, stating that only one of the Argentine proposals----that relating to the admission of sovereign states----had been presented officially. Dr. Pueyrredon relied to this communication "with the sole object of pointing out Sir Eric Drummond's error" and the proposals presented were enumerated, including admission of all recognized sovereign states to the League of Nations; proposals concerning the permanent court of international justice and compulsory arbitration; the admission of peoples not yet admitted to the League of Nations, owing to their non-recognition as sovereign states; also that Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania and Georgia be treated, if they so desire, as member states of the League of Nations respecting their participation.

(Add) (61) Alien Policies

The University of Vienna is reported to have created a special distinction of honor to be given to high ranking personalities who showed sympathy for Austria during its difficult moments, and the Academic Senate has recently conferred this distinction for the first time, giving it to President Irigoyen and also the Argentine Minister in Vienna, Dr. Fernando Perez.

(Add) (6) Special  
(48) Foreign

Dr. Antonio Mora y Araujo has been appointed Minister to Brazil to succeed Sr. Ruiz de los Llanos who has been made Minister to Cuba.

(Replace)

Dr. Angel Gallardo has been appointed Argentine Minister to Italy.

Binding Margin

(30) Political

(Add)

(13) Administration

Mr. Ginnell, the Minister of the so-called "Irish Republic" was received privately by Dr. Pueyrredon, the Argentine Minister of Foreign Affairs. On August 13 the Argentine Government celebrated the driving out of the British from Buenos Aires, and on this occasion a Te Deum was sung in the Santo Domingo Church at which the President and Cabinet were present. Mr. Ginnell and a delegation of Irishmen, carrying a banner inscribed with the name of the Irish Republic, accompanied the Government officials, Mr. Ginnell having a place immediately behind the President. A member of the British Legation stated that he is of the opinion that the President took this attitude in order to gain the votes of the Irish Porteños (Irish born in Argentina) of which there are a considerable number.)

(Add)

(20) National

(60) Domestic Policies

(61) Alien Policies

On August 29th ratifications were exchanged in Buenos Aires by the Minister for Foreign Affairs and the Italian Minister of the treaty recently signed between those countries as regards workmen's compensation.

On August 11 the exchange of ratifications of the Arbitration Treaty between Argentina and Colombia took place between the Minister for Foreign Affairs and the Colombian Minister.

(16) Special

(Add)

(48) Foreign

#### Great Britain

Sr. Paulino Llambi y Cambell, First Secretary of the Argentine Legation in The Hague has been transferred to the Argentine Legation in London.

#### Italy

(Add)

Sr. Carlos Brabbia has been appointed Honorary Commercial Attaché to the Argentine Legation in Rome.

#### Brazil

(Add)

Sr. Eduardo Racedo, second secretary to the Argentine Legation in London, has been promoted to First Secretary and transferred to Rio.

#### United States of America

(Add)

Sr. Felipe Espil, First Secretary of the Argentine Embassy in Washington has been promoted to Counselor of Embassy.

Dr. A.S. Luti has been appointed Second Secretary of the Argentine Embassy in Washington.

(Add)

(49) Alien

Sr. Corrado Zoli, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of

D'Ambrosio, is now in Buenos Aires on an Italian propaganda mission.

(Add) (20) National  
(60) Domestic Policies.

The rejection of the Argentine proposed amendments of the pact of the League of Nations has caused a great deal of editorial comment in the Argentine press, the official organs stating that this action was foreseen and merely bears out the general opinion that the League is now definitely an instrument of the Allies in the recent war, in order to consolidate their victory.

(Add) (61) Alien Policies

"La Prensa" on the 30th of September published a dispatch from Riga stating that the Soviet Government had recently started negotiations with the Argentine Government for the establishment of diplomatic relations. Dr. Molinari of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs stated that a telegram had been received from Tchicherin asking whether the Moscow Government might send a representative to Argentina for the purpose of buying wheat and other food supplies. The Foreign Office replied that such might be done, the representative to be unofficial and permission for him to come to Argentina in no way to be interpreted as a recognition of the Bolshevik Government.

(Add) (49) Alien

Sr. Antonio Caso has been in Buenos Aires for about ten days as special Mexican Ambassador. He has given several lectures at the University and other institutions and is expected to lecture in the University of Córdoba and perhaps others as well.

(Replace) (48) Foreign

#### Colombia

Dr. Eduardo Labougle, recently Argentine Chargé d'Affaires in Cuba, has been appointed Argentine Minister in Colombia.

Bolivia (Add)

Sr. Ludovico Loizaga has been appointed Secretary of the Argentine Legation in Bolivia.

(39) Sociologic  
(117) Industrial

On September 21 the House of Representatives passed a bill establishing a minimum salary of 160 pesos per month for all employees or workmen, without distinction of sex, over 18 years of age, who work at least eight hours a day in the service of the State, and who have no other occupation nor receive other remuneration, lodging or food. A proportional increase of all salaries less than 300 pesos a month was also established by the same law on the following basis:

Under 100 pages, 30%

From 100 to 199, 40%

" 200 " 250, 30%

" 251 " 300, 20%



(II) Political

(III) The Opposition

On July 5 the opposition block of deputies determined on the course of action to be followed by them, as follows:

1: To accord preference to the sanction of the laws in regard to taxes and the budget for the present year over any other business pending before the Chamber.

2: Considering the grave danger which would be entailed to Argentine institutions by the possibility that the next national presidential and vice-presidential elections might be carried out while some of the Provinces are intervened by the Federal Power, which, besides having no precedents in Argentine political history, would not be in accordance with the constitutional precept that the National Authority should not have influence either direct or indirect in such elections---and it was resolved to make a declaration in this sense and propose the passage of a law in order that the Provinces may be restored to full use and enjoyment of their institutions.

(1007)

(10) General  
(58) Labos

The situation in the interior of Santa Cruz Territory especially at Puerto Gallegos, has not improved following the arrangements effected after the last strike. The peones returned to work, but they did so on such impossible terms that the settlers have constantly to complain of the acts of violence committed by their personnel and of depredations on the part of the groups who have not gone back to regular employment. Certain groups have taken forcible possession of various establishments demanding that they be lodged and fed without working during the winter. Similar groups are also reported to be appearing at other estancias, cutting wire fences and doing other damage, and brigandage is said to be becoming increasingly more common. Isolated strikes take place whenever a peon is discharged. The police force is inadequate to take any action, and the settlers are continually clamoring for the situation to be dealt with once and for all by the organization of the proposed Division of Cavalry of the Line in order to secure to the zone the guarantees and benefits which the Constitution accords.

MONOGRAPH REPORT

SUBJECT--ARGENTINA----POLITICAL--ITEMS--

GEORGE L. OYHANARTE  
Capt

From ARGENTINA---POLITICAL

No. 2575 Date November 21, 1921

Replying to No. Date, 19

(Add)

(20) National  
(61) Foreign Policies

Sr. Demetrio M. Popovici has arrived in Buenos Aires on a special mission for the Roumanian Government, to remain here several months in an endeavor to bring about direct trade and commerce between Argentina and Roumania. He will soon open an exhibit of Roumanian goods in Buenos Aires and hopes to establish a Roumanian-Argentine bank and a steamship line between the River Plate and Danube and Black Sea ports of Roumania. Sr. Popovici states that Constanza would appear to be the best distributing point for Argentine products in the near east. He has just spent several months in Rio on a similar mission.

(Replace)

(16) Special  
(49) Alien

Count Giuseppe Colli Felizzano has been appointed Italian Minister in Buenos Aires.

(Replace)

Count Robert Van der Straten Ponthoz, Belgian Chargé d'Affaires has just been made Belgian Minister.

(15) Unofficial  
(46) Personages

The following telegram was published in "La Nacion" on November 15th, 1921.

"An Imperialistic banquet was organized in Berlin in honor of the well known Argentine politician, Dr. Horacio Oyhanarte a prominent member of the Radical party and close personal friend of President Irigoyen.

Although it was attempted to keep the matter secret, it has become known that the guests were all in uniform and included the following: the son of the ex-Kaiser, Prince Eitel Friedrich; Admirals Tirpitz, Schroeder and Reuter; Vice-Admiral von Trotha; General Ludendorff, Mackensen, von Dikhut, von der Goltz; von Parvel; Count Waldersee, von Litzmann and von Watter; the ex-aide-de-camp of the Kaiser, Count Moltke; Captain Moewe, Count Dohna, and a dozen other officers of the old regimen. General von Hindenburg, sent a affectionate message excusing his absence. Among the civilian personages present were the Argentine Minister in Stockholm, Sr. Feuser, Dr. Laub and Sr. Ibarra, Count

Westarp and Dr. Helfferich. In a word all Imperial Germany was gathered together to render homage clandestinely to Dr. Oyhanarte for his inexorable criticism, in the speech made at the Berlin University, on the Versailles Treaty and the Geneva Assembly.

(38) Political

(113) Past

(114) Present

(115) Future

Commenting on the Washington Disarmament Conference a local newspaper brought out the fact that 25 years ago when feeling ran high between Argentina and Chile due to boundary questions, the statesmen of both countries entered into a convention for the limitation of armaments---naval equality---which was adhered to and saved both countries from disaster and economic ruin.

3 - 1  
2657-2-30  
PUBLICATION REPORT

SUBJECT...BOLSHEVISM IN TERRITORY OF SANTA CRUZ

From...ARGENTINA

No. 2592

Date...November 21, 19 21

Replying to No. Date, 19

The Santa Cruz bandits celebrated the arrival of the 10th cavalry at Rio Gallegos by sacking and burning more estancia buildings in the north of the Territory. The troops are guarding the town and neighbourhood, and the police have been sent in pursuit of the bandits.

Local firms with branches in the Territory of Santa Cruz have been receiving telegrams reporting that large parties of the bandits are moving north about the Santa Cruz river and are making for the lakes.

Large droves of horses have been seized by the raiders in the Coyle region, and constant additions to their thefts are being made as they advance.

On the arrival of the national transport ship "Guardia Nacional" at Rio Gallegos, capital of the Territory of Santa Cruz about November 10th, with cavalry forces to restore and to maintain order in the region, much faith has been placed.

The Commander of these forces, Colonel Valera, reported during the week to the Ministry for War that immediately following his arrival at Rio Gallegos he despatched parties of his forces into the interior, in order to ascertain the situation. He stated that tranquility prevailed in his immediate neighborhood, but he had ascertained that there were numbers of groups of bad characters at other points with whom he hopes to deal in due course.

Telegrams received on November 20th stated that the situation is daily becoming more acute. About 250 bandits are near the town of San Julian and an attack is feared hourly. The intention apparently is to take the towns of Santa Cruz and San Julian, thus the bandits will be able to dominate the whole south from the ocean to the Andes.

Many persons have taken refuge on board the coastguard "Almirante Brown". This ship was sent down some time ago to cope with the situation, but having no marines has been of little use.

Binding Margin

3 - 1  
76-7-L-30  
RECEIVED  
2 FEB 1922

SUBJECT---BOLSHEVISM IN THE TERRITORY OF SANTA CRUZ---SERVICE  
REPORT

From---ARGENTINA

No.---2636

Date---January 2, 1922

Replying to No.---

Date---657-2-30, 19

RECEIVED 6/2 W.D. FEB 2 1922

In connection with reports #2592 Nov.21,1921 and #2619 Dec.19,1921((23) Anarchism, (68) Revolutionary) the information below gives an account of the development of the situation in Santa Cruz Territory:

The Manager of an estate in Santa Cruz who recently arrived in Buenos Aires in the course of an interview stated that he was of the opinion that the subversive movement which had taken place in Santa Cruz territory, and which is still going on, had nothing to do with labor aspirations towards a better social regime. The men were simply a horde organized for purposes of pillage.

Shortly after the "list of conditions" had been accepted by the estancia owners the first assault took place. This assault was on the estancia Cañadón Sargento, and was made by a group of from 50 to 60 perfectly armed and militarily organized bandits.

All arms, food, clothing, cars, carts, camions, ammunition and fuel were seized by the bandits and the estancia staff taken prisoners. Then the buildings, fences, etc. of the estancia were razed to the ground. The prisoners were taken to a place 60 leagues distant called Paso Ibañez on the left bank of the Santa Cruz River.

The bandits, who were organized perfectly inasmuch as discipline and military deportment were concerned, were, in the majority, Chilians. They obey the orders of chiefs selected in Assemblies which are participated in by all the members of the band which is organized in perfectly established hierarchies. The principal chiefs of the bandits are called Otorrello, Sánchez and Escubiedes, all three Chilians.

The bandits have in their power about 5,000 horses stolen at the different establishments which they have assaulted as also trucks and carts with which they have organized the train---perfect military formation---and the forces are distributed under the order of captains. The discipline is really surprising considering the men who form the band. The rule that drink of alcoholic liquids is forbidden is strictly adhered to.

The prisoners taken were not ill treated in general. There was an abundance of food, and although they were expected to slaughter animals and do other menial work they were not abused. Among the prisoners ---about 80 altogether---were an English minister (Church) and a naturalist professor of the University of La Plata.

At Paso Ibanez where the prisoners were taken and where about 600 bandits had their camp, one morning the prisoners awoke with the noise of heavy firing. It was the forces of the Navy firing from the opposite bank of the river to which place they had advanced in pursuit of the bandits. The national troops numbered about 200 under the command of Lt. Colonel Varela and besides the landing party of the "Almirante Brown" there were soldiers of the 10th Regiment of Cavalry.

The bandits promptly organized their men, and placing the prisoners in front, started firing. After four hours guerrilla the commander of the national forces having noted the prisoners stopped firing. One prisoner, however, had already been killed. The chief, Escubiedes, was sent to arrange conditions. He, as delegate of the bandits, stated to Lt. Colonel Varela that his men were disposed to continue the fight, keeping the prisoners always in front, and if any of his band were killed, all the prisoners would immediately be shot. Lt. Colonel Varela stated his regret at the decision, but stated that it was his duty to continue action until the bandits were reduced to submission. When the parley returned to the camp, the prisoners were ordered to prepare to march to the Cordillera, then, after some private conferences among the chiefs of the bandits, the prisoners were released. Then the bandits went off towards the mountains with their vast war supplies.

Later, news was to the effect that the bandits were pursued by the national forces and 160 taken prisoners. More than 300 horses were seized also three large trucks, many arms and large quantities of ammunition. In the battle which took place it was announced that 5 men were killed and 17 wounded; all civilians.

After the above encounter and in spite of the reported resumption of a normal state of affairs, alarming messages still arrived from Santa Cruz. It would appear that after the fight between the Government troops and the main body of the insurgents, the latter broke up into isolated gangs, which shortly after began to reappear in different parts of the territory. They were well armed and equipped with means of transport while the troops, on the other hand, were seriously handicapped by lack of connections.

According to telegrams later received from San Julian, Puerto Deseado and some towns in Chubut, the bandits were gathering together with the object of attacking Bahia Blanca or Comodoro Rivadavia. Pico Truncado, a small town not far from Comodoro Rivadavia, was attacked and the whole neighborhood thrown into a state of wild alarm. Further advices from the district stated that a defence corps was being raised in the district and active preparations for the repulse of any attack were being made.

In view of the alarming reports received, the Corps of Gendarmerie recently organized was hurriedly dispatched to the territory of Santa Cruz. They embarked on December 14th on the S.S. Argentino which also carried the Governor of Santa Cruz, Captain Angel I. Iza to his post.

The men of the Gendarmerie Corps were well armed and dressed, and apparently left Buenos Aires contented with their lot and prospects.

Shortly after their departure news arrived through the

Governor of Chubut that there had been a mutiny among the mounted gendarmerie en route for Santa Cruz, on board the S.S. Argentino in Trelew port (Chubut).

The cause apparently was that a non-commissioned officer for some trivial reason, struck a soldier, slightly injuring him. The first mate of the ship tried to make peace and was stabbed in the back. The soldiers then mutinied and proceeded to disarm the non-commissioned officers of the party, who were locked up all night.

Governor Iza boarded the ship and tried to quieten the men, but even while he was still speaking the mutineers commenced firing, and two officers---one from the ship---were killed, while eight soldiers and sailors were wounded.

The Governor eventually succeeded in calming the men and the vessel sailed for Comodoro Rivadavia.

It is thought that the mutiny was engineered by a few dissatisfied spirits on the Argentino. As the gendarmes had no ammunition for their rifles whatever firing took place must have been done with revolvers.

To date of writing the banditti had assaulted the following estancias in Santa Cruz: La Esperanza, Bella Vista, Los Buitres, Punta Alta, La Uruguay, Slenocross, Laguna Larga, Del Monte, El Chingolo, La Vanguardia, Las Vegas, Pozo del Medio Chacoarque, Cabo Buen Tiempo, Cogaike, Bremen, Laguna Cefle, Laguna Kerits, Laguna del Oro, Funte del Coyle, Las Orquetas, Montes, La Tehuelche, Maesgerges Auyu, Martín Garrido, Lar andarte, Cañadón Sargentino, Piedra Buena, Tres Lagunas, Cerro Castillo, Laguna Grande, La Montevideo, Totel Aikes, La Ploma.

A curious factor in connection with the whole situation and which gave rise to comment, was the fact that the town of Paso Ibañez was in the power of the insurgents---the majority of whom were Chilians---for eleven days. They sacked the stores, and took charge of the police station becoming the absolute masters of the little town, numbering about 400 souls. That this should occur in Argentine territory, and Argentine citizens be at the mercy of the foreign bandits is pointed out as indeed remarkable.



MONOGRAPH REPORT

3 - 1

CONFIDENTIAL

SUBJECT... POLITICAL ITEMS ---- ARGENTINA - G-2 REPORT

From... ARGENTINA ---- POLITICAL

No. 2602 Date November 30, 1921

Replying to No. Date 19

(Add.)

(5) ~~the~~ Opposition

RECEIVED 8/2 W.D. JAN 7 1922

Very considerable bitterness is felt by the Radicals against the Socialists whom they consider, as already definitely lined up with the Conservatives. The President has made desperate efforts to overcome the influence of the Socialists and has endeavored to defeat them by their own measures. For instance, when the Socialists advocated a minimum wage for all Government employees of 130 pesos a month, the President had a law passed by Congress, just before its adjournment fixing the minimum wage at 160 pesos. In a number of other cases he has also taken up parts of the Socialist platform and made them his own after going a step further even than the Socialists had proposed.

The Concentration Party opened its convention on November 20th and chose Dr. Norberto Piñero as Presidential candidate and Dr. Rafael Nuñez as candidate for vice-President.

The National Concentration is organized on the basis of the following Parties and political groups whose representatives, duly authorized thereto, signed the organic charter:

The Commercial Union of the Federal Capital; the Conservative Party of Buenos Aires Province; the Democratic Party of Córdoba; the Liberal Party of Corrientes; the Autonomist Party of Corrientes; the Provincial Concentration of Entre Ríos; the Liberal Party of Tucumán; the Provincial Civic Concentration of Jujuy; the Liberal Party of Mendoza; the Liberal Party of San Luis; the Autonomist Party of Santiago del Estero; the National Party of La Rioja; the Autonomist Party of La Rioja; the Provincial Union of Salta; the Civic Concentration of San Juan; and the Concentration of Catamarca.

All the parties and groups mentioned in the previous article will maintain their organization and autonomist government in everything pertaining to the local affairs of the State to which they belong.

(Add.)

(15) Unofficial

(46) Personages.

Sr. Alvarez de Toledo, interventor in Tucumán Province, has been appointed President of the Bank of the Nation. He was Minister of Marine for some time in President Irigoyen's Cabinet, and was later appointed Minister to London, but returned to Argentina a few weeks after presenting his credentials. From that time until his appointment as President of the Bank, he has been interventor in Tucumán Province.

Sr. Angel Velaz has been appointed Vice President and one of the Directors, and the other Directors are Sr. Ramón Mihura, who is also made Financial Secretary and in charge of

the documents; and Masera. Ciro Ionesarty and Nemesio de Olariaga, who are also in charge of legal affairs and branches of the Bank.

These appointments are purely political and now for the first time the Banco de la Nación, which has heretofore succeeded in keeping out of politics, has become a means of providing positions for friends of the President.

It is reported that none of the new members of the Board of the Bank of the Nation have any knowledge whatsoever of banking.

(Add)

(24) Exotism

(71) Despots

On November 20th Governor Jones of the San Juan Province was murdered. The murder is said to have been committed for political reasons. The situation in the Province leading to the voting of a law of intervention by the Congress, which has never been put into effect by President Irigoyen, has culminated in the assassination of the Governor.

22  
3-1  
G-2 REPORT

CONFIDENTIAL

SUBJECT POLITICAL ITEMS----ARGENTINA-----

From--ARGENTINA----POLITICAL-----

No. 2607----- Date December 5, 19 21

Replying to No.----- Date----- 1922, 19

RECEIVED W.C. JAN 7 1922  
(17) Political

Electoral Platforms of Political Parties for the presidential elections in 1922:

Socialist Party:

1. Improved currency. Opening of the Caja de Conversión. Free exportation of gold. Payment of salaries in convertible notes or in gold.
2. Abolition of burdensome taxes. Universal tax levied upon the value of unimproved real estate and the right of the municipalities to tax real estate in the same manner. Luxury tax. Equitable determination of rural rents. Income tax.
3. Reform of the Constitution. Parliamentary form of government. Election of the President by Congress. Parliamentary representation of the territories. Separation of church and state. Suppression of the Senate. Parliamentary control of foreign relations.
4. Election of the Mayor of the Federal Capital by direct universal suffrage.
5. Preferential application of state income for secular free and compulsory primary instruction.
6. Liberty of assembly for association or the expression of opinion and the repeal of laws restricting it.
7. Divorce law.
8. Repeal of the law of residence.
9. Civil and political rights for women.
10. National insurance against illness, invalidism and old age, and the constitution of state maternity hospitals.

National Concentration Party:

This party lacks a definite platform. The president of the Convention stated that one is not necessary as the Concentration is not a new Party but a federation of parties which keep their autonomy and independence and have come together with the sole object of preventing Sr. Irigoyen continuing in power after the 12th of October, 1922, or that he should impose, by violence or by fraud, a successor like him on the country.

Binding Margin.

M. I. 2.

Replying to No. \_\_\_\_\_ Date JAN 15 1962, 19

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"La Prensa" is reliable; anti-Government in its politics.

### Binding Margin

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SUBJECT POLITICAL ITEMS---ARGENTINA G-3 REPORT

From ARGENTINA ---POLITICAL

No. 2619 Date December 19, 19 21

Replying to No. Date RECEIVED G/2 W.D. JAN 13 1922 19

(Add) (24) Egotism  
(71) Despots

Through the publication of a letter from the Radical National Deputy for San Juan Province written to the President of the Republic subsequent to the assassination of the Governor, and drawing the President's attention to the anarchy and confusion reigning in said province it is learned that some time ago civil war in the Republic was narrowly averted.

It appears that the President of the National Committee of the Radical Party suggested to the Radical block of the Chamber of Deputies to break all relations with the Senate, and refuse to recognize that body. The Radicals had a majority in the last Chamber of Deputies, but were in the minority in the Senate, and the President of the Republic, doubtless desired by this means to overthrow the Senate and leave himself in complete control. President Irigoyen certainly never treated the Lower Chamber with greater respect than he has the Senate, and should he be able to overthrow the Senate, by means of the House, there doubtless would not have been lacking an occasion for him then to overthrow the Lower House and assume a virtual and effective dictatorship.

(Add) (30) National  
(60) Domestic Policies

The Washington Conference has been given very much attention in the local press. LA NACION, in editorial articles of November 26 and December 1, deplored the isolation of Argentina and said that it should follow the United States closely. Argentina, the articles add, has always recognized the primacy of the United States in Pan American affairs, and should not get away from the policy of close accord with the United States in all foreign, as well as Pan American, policy

(Add)

Dr. Pedro Manini Rios, Uruguayan delegate to the Assembly of the League of Nations at Geneva, in an interview published in "La Nacion" of November 6, after his return from Geneva, lamented the absence of Argentina from the League. Latin-America has now assumed greater importance, he stated, and had Argentina been there she would have had a place on the Executive Council at the Court of International Justice. Dr. Manini Rios is of the opinion that the absence of the United States would have made the position of Argentina more preponderant.

While disclaiming any knowledge of Argentine politics

which would account for Argentina's action, he stated that in his opinion the importance of the Argentine amendments was only very relative as compared with what the country lost in making that circumstance a decisive question. The amendment affects the essence of the pact, this being a consequence of the Treaty, and he stated that in those conditions the action of the European nations in opposing its acceptance is logical.

(Add) (17) Political

The principal political activities during the month of November were the election of Governor in Córdoba Province, the assassination of the Governor of San Juan Province, the nomination of the candidates of the Concentration of Opposition Parties for the coming presidential election, and the interest in the Buenos Aires elections which took place on the 4th of December.

(Add) (23) Anarchism  
(68) Revolutionary

The situation in Santa Cruz Territory continues to be serious. The Government has been very dilatory in sending troops to the affected region and when the troops finally did arrive the situation was extremely serious. An American citizen, Mr. Sydney J. MacBey, was captured by the brigands and the Frigorífico Armour in Santa Cruz, of which he is the Manager, was taken charge of also by the bandits. About seventy or more other prisoners were carried off by the bandits, and the Argentine troops experienced a great deal of difficulty in attempting to rescue them as the bandits put their prisoners between them and the Government forces. The Government troops were further handicapped by leaving all their horses in the north when they went to Santa Cruz Territory, thinking that they could get all they needed there. Mr. MacBey and the other prisoners were finally released on November 26 and the Armour plant was recovered.

Since the release of the prisoners the situation, instead of bettering, has daily grown worse and new attacks are reported every day. The opposition press blames the President for the situation, and an editorial article published in "La Prensa" of November 20th distinctly points this out.

(Add) (15) Unofficial  
(46) Personages

Dr. Elpidio Gonzalez, who resigned as Chief of Police two or three months ago to endeavor to reorganize the Radical Party in Córdoba Province and to be Radical candidate for Governor, has again been appointed Chief of Police of Buenos Aires and resumed his duties as such on December 1st, 1921.

(20) National

(60) Domestic Policies

(61) Alien Policies

On December 7th a Diplomatic Telegraphic Convention was signed between the Paraguayan Minister of Foreign Affairs, Dr. Alejandro Arce and the Argentine Minister to Paraguay, don Laurentino Olascoaga. This Convention provides for the free interchange of telegrams of diplomats, consuls and certain authorities and officials of both countries.

76-7-L-31  
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M. I. 2 -

From --- ARGENTINA --- POLITICAL

No. 2683 Date December 17, 19 21

Replying to No. \_\_\_\_\_ Date 6/2/22 JAN 13 1922, 19

SYNOPSIS: The educational system seems to have been regarded as an open field for political favour, and it appears that the Radicals contemplated using the school children as a welcoming committee for their candidates.

## Binding Margin

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"La Nacion" is a conservative dependable newspaper-anti-Government.

M.A.'s Comment: It seems that the Radicals will stop at nothing to further their cause leaving no stone unturned which might further their cause.



RECEIVED  
IN SERVICE JOURNALS.

3-1

76-7-L-36

FEB 2 1922

SUBJECT POLITICAL ITEMS---ARGENTINA G-2 REPORT

From ARGENTINA---POLITICAL

No. 2633

Date

19

Replying to No.

Date

19

(Replace)

RECEIVED 6/2 W.D. FEB 2 1922  
(49) Alien

DENMARK

The former Chargé d'Affaires of Denmark, Mr. Otto Wadsted has been appointed Minister Plenipotentiary and Envoy Extraordinary of Denmark to Argentina.

ECUADOR

New legations are to be established by Ecuador in various South American countries including Argentina.

ITALY

The newly appointed Italian Minister to Argentina Count José Colli Di Felizzano has arrived in Argentina.

(Add)

(60) Domestic Policies

On December 15th the Argentine Government published a decree recognizing the Serbian-Croat-Slav State as free and independent.

(Add)

(23) Anarchism

(68) Revolutionary

On December 18th a meeting was held by the Shoemakers' Union to protest against the arrest of the Communists Sacco and Vanzetti. This meeting had been forbidden by the police nevertheless groups gathered. They were dissolved by the police which proceeded "manu militari". Finally 47 were arrested and a large amount of antisocial propaganda seized.

(33) Cultural

(67) Domestic

The President of the National Council of Education has presented his plans for the forthcoming year to the Ministry of the Interior. It is requested therein that \$6,000,000 be appropriated to create 1000 schools.

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SUBJECT--POLITICAL ITEMS---ARGENTINA---G-2 REPORT-----

From ARGENTINA

No. 2853 Date January 16, 19 22

Replying to No. Date FEB 18 1922

(Add)

(44) Leaders.

Information received from a very well-informed source is to the effect that the President's preference for a Radical presidential candidate is shifting from Senator Saguer to Sr. Alvear, at present Argentine Minister in Paris.

For Radical Vice Presidential candidate the name of Sr. Goyeneche is now being mentioned although it has usually been a tradition to select the vice-presidential candidate from the interior of the country, the President generally being chosen from the Federal Capital. Sr. Goyeneche is a resident of the city of Buenos Aires, which may be an inconvenience in nominating him, although his action as presiding officer of the Chamber of Deputies has given him a very considerable prestige throughout the country.

(Add)

(49) Alien

#### Denmark

Sr. Otto Wadstead presented his letters of credence to the President on December 13, accrediting him as Danish Minister to Argentina.

#### France.

On December 14 the French Minister presented Major Loubignac to the Minister for Foreign Affairs as Aeronautic Attache to the French Legation.

(61) Alien Policies.

Several times a week there is published in LA NACION and certain other Argentine newspapers telegrams given out by the Mexican Legation in Buenos Aires with information in the nature of propaganda with regard to that country.

A Havas despatch from Paris stated that an agent of Hugo Stinnes had left Switzerland for Argentina and Chile, accompanied by General von Lutzow, to carry on German propaganda, and that he has 5,000,000 Swiss francs for this purpose.

(46) Personages

Dr. Joaquin Rubianes, the Dean of the Law School, has resigned, stating that it is not worth while to continue to teach constitutional law at a time when the laws and Constitution of the country are not respected by those in office.

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2657-2-38  
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SUBJECT--- POLITICAL ITEMS--- ARGENTINA--- G-2--- REPORT

From ARGENTINA --- POLITICAL

No. 2678 Date January 31, 1922.

Replying to No. Date RECEIVED G/2 W.D. MAR 3 1922 19

(Add)

(41) Executive

In politics, during 1921, President Irigoyen continued to exercise the Executive functions with his customary energy and inflexibility. His action and that of his Ministers on frequent occasions aroused the indignant criticism of his political opponents, particularly with respect to Federal intervention in Provincial Governments and in connection with irregularities attributed to the Minister of Finance in the issue of sugar export permits and other matters.

(Add)

(50) "Ins"

Dissensions in the "Ins" (Radical --governing---Party) became more numerous and accentuated during 1921 both in the National Chamber of Deputies and in the Provinces. Notwithstanding this, the Radical Party is still strong, and the chances are that it will remain in power (with diminished strength) during the six-year Presidential term which commences on October 12, 1922.

In the election for electors of Governor and Vice-Governor of the Province of Buenos Aires the Radical Party won by a majority over the Conservatives of 23,000 votes.

However, the Conservatives won a surprising moral victory as the number of persons voting for this party increased by over 30,000 as compared with the voting in 1918. Simultaneously the Radicals gained only about 7,000 votes compared with the same previous election.

Up to time of writing the Radical Party have not proclaimed their candidates for the Presidency and Vice-Presidency of the Republic. The three names most in favour for the Presidency are those of Dr. Saguer (a National senator) and Dr. Marcelo de Alvear (Argentine Minister in Paris).

On the other hand there is a faction of the Radical Party which shows a tendency to act independently of the inspirations of the present President of the Republic, and this section is favouring the candidatures of Dr. Gallo for President, and Dr. Goyeneche (President of the Chamber of Deputies) for Vice-President.

Latest information is to the effect that the newest Presidential formula is Saguer-Goyeneche for President and Vice-President, respectively, and is said to represent a compromise between conflicting opinions within the Radical Party.

(Adm.)

(23) Argentinian  
(6) Revolutionary

The year 1931 opened and closed with a seditious strike, of a violent character, in progress in the Far South Territory of Santa Cruz. The movement, after being suppressed early in the year by more or less stringent military measures, broke out again towards the close of the year. Its recent developments indicate that a state of tranquility is gradually being restored. Lieut. Colonel Varela, the Commander of the 10th Cavalry Regiment, who was sent to the Territory to suppress the subversive movement returned to Buenos Aires on January 24, 1932, and stated that order and tranquility had now been definitely restored throughout the territory, and he thought that there was very small possibility of any further trouble in view of the fact that for the future, military detachments would be permanently stationed there.

(60) Domestic Policies  
(61) Alien Policies.

(da)

(116) Social

(117) Industrial

A great deal of valuable time was frittered away by Congress during 1921, however two measures of importance became law. One, instituting pensions and annuities for the employees and workmen of private companies performing public utility functions, and one (of an emergency character) restricting rentals of dwelling houses and business properties and otherwise regulating the relations of landlord and tenant (in favour of the tenant).

(Replace)

(49) Alien

ITALY

The new Italian Minister to Argentina, Count Colli de Felizzano was received by the President on January 31, 1922 and presented his credentials.

(Add)

(69) Feminism

The National Council of Women has been officially invited to send a representative to the Panamerican Conference to be held in Baltimore in April, 1922.

The Directive Board has appointed Señora María Pereyra de Le Breton, wife of the Argentine Ambassador to the United States as its representative.

(Add)

(42) Subordinates.

A decree was issued on January 24, 1922 by the Minister of the Interior convoking the National Congress to extraordinary sessions on January 30th. The only business referred to in the decree of convocation was the consideration of the Budget and Tax Laws for 1922.

3-1 2657-240

SUBJECT.....POLITICAL ITEMS-----ARGENTINA G-2 REPORT

From...ARGENTINA-----POLITICAL

No. 2685 Date...February 10, 1922.

Replying to No. Date, 19

(Replace) (49) Alien

MEXICO.  
Sr. Enrique González Martínez has been appointed Mexican Minister in Argentina.

(Add) (27) Liberalism  
(81) Evolutionary

In order to break up the large estates, a bill will be introduced into Congress in the extraordinary sessions to fix a tax in the national Capital and national Territories, as follows:

For land without improvements:  
3% up to 50,000 pesos  
6% " " 250,000 "  
9% " " 500,000 "  
12% " " 1,000,000 "  
15% " " 2,000,000 "  
18% " " 3,000,000 "  
21% " " 4,000,000 "  
24% above 5,000,000 "

Improvements will pay 2 pesos per thousand and when the value of the land and improvements does not exceed 15,000 pesos there will be a total exemption from all contribution.

The following figures with regard to the value of land in the Capital and Territories are taken from LA NACIÓN of January 19, 1922:

In the Federal Capital in 1920 the value of land was 1,179,957,538 and the value of construction 1,476,106,862 or a total of 2,656,064,400 pesos. On those values the amount of the land tax was 15,937,633.50 pesos. In the National Territories on a value of property of 514,727,345 pesos the same tax brought 3,088,364.07 pesos. In the Territory of the Pampa of an area of 5,217 $\frac{1}{2}$  leagues belonging to 11,273 proprietors ninety-three possess 1,177 leagues; that is 30% of the above area and 32% of the area of the whole Territory. In Rio Negro out of an area of 3,151 leagues belonging to 857 proprietors, 211 own 1,871 leagues, or 58%. In the Chaco out of 1,399 leagues, belonging to 299 proprietors, 52 of the latter own 728 leagues, or 52% of the land. In Misiones out of 855 leagues belonging to forty-eight proprietors, forty-two own 836 leagues, or 97% of the total. In Santa Cruz there are 2,108 leagues belonging to 439 proprietors of which thirty-six own 1,164 leagues, or 55% of the total. In Chubut there are 1,856 leagues belonging to 779 persons of whom twenty-six own 543 leagues, or 29% of the total, and in Tierra de Fuego this land

proportion amounts to 85%, and in Neuquen to 65%.

(Add)

(52) Other

On January 23, 1922 the Socialists chose Dr. Nicolás Repetto and Dr. Antonio de Tomaso, Socialist Deputies, as the Party's candidates for the presidency and vice-presidency, respectively, after Deputy Bravo had refused the vice-presidential candidacy.

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Binding Margin.

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SUBJECT POLITICAL ITEMS-----ARGENTINA G-2 REPORT

From ARGENTINA-----POLITICAL

No. 3721 RECEIVED G-2 W.B. APR 14 1932 Date March 16 1932

Replying to No. Date 19

(Add)

(17) Political

APPROACHING PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION.

The most important recent political development was the proclamation of the Alvear-Gonzalez formula at the National Convention of the Radical Party held on March 13th.

As reported previously Dr. Marcelo Alvear is at present Argentine Minister in Paris, and Dr. Elpidio Gonzalez, who is one of the President's most trusty henchmen, has been Minister of War, Chief of Police, National Interventor in the Province of Cordoba and again Chief of Police up to date of resignation upon being proclaimed candidate as vice-President.

(Add)

(61) Alien Policies

In a leading article published in its edition of the 3rd of February, 1932, La UNION stated, in reference to the failure of the Central American countries to form a confederation, that if those countries would think for ten minutes of the United States, not only would all five confederate together, but they would also endeavor to form a confederation with Mexico in order to guarantee their maximum autonomy.

Bolivia

(Add)

(49) Alien

Sr. Bernardo Navajas Trigo has been appointed Bolivian Chargé d' Affaires in Buenos Aires. This appointment was made as the Minister Designate, Dr. Elidoro Villazon has postponed his arrival.

Mexico

(Replace)

Dr. Enrique González Martínez arrived in Buenos Aires on February 28th to take up his duties as Mexican Minister.

(48) Foreign

Colombia

On February 26th Dr. Eduardo Labougle left Buenos Aires for Colombia to which country he has been appointed Minister.

(Add)

(6) Domestic Policies

The Argentine Government, by executive decree, has

ratified the Hispano-American Postal Convention concluded at Madrid in 1920, which entered into vigor as far as Argentina is concerned on February 14th.

According to the local press, five centavos will now be the tariff for letters to the following countries, which are reported to have ratified the convention also:

Cuba, Spain, El Salvador, Honduras, Brazil, Bolivia, Colombia, Chile, Costa Rica, Ecuador, the United States, Paraguay, Panama, Mexico, Haiti, Guatemala, the Philippines and Santo Domingo.

#### (51) The Opposition

A Congressional commission has presented a report of 440 pages with regard to the accusations against Messrs. Salaberry and Demarchi, Ministers of Finance and Agriculture, respectively, with regard to the binder twine, wheat, flour, public lands and other scandals.

#### (44) Leaders

##### Biography of Dr. Marcelo T. de Alvear--Radical candidate as President.

Dr. Alvear was born in Buenos Aires in 1868. (Oct. 4). He is a descendant of a noble Spanish family, and his ancestor Don Diego de Alvear y Ponce de Leon was a member of one of the Commissions sent by Spain to America to settle boundary disputes with Portugal.

While still a student he became a member of the Radical Party, which at that time was considered a disgrace, for the party was said to be formed of scoundrels, revolutionaries and bandits. He joined the party as he believed the time had come for a political reaction to set in in the country. In 1890, in the course of the revolution promoted by the Radicals, he met Dr. Hipólito Irigoyen and they became close friends. In 1893, Dr. Alvear travelled with Alem (the founder of the Radical Party) throughout the Republic.

Later on Dr. Alvear entered Congress, and also took a prominent part in provincial politics. Finally, in 1916 he was offered and accepted the post of Argentine Ambassador to France.

Dr. Alvear graduated from the University of Buenos Aires as a lawyer in 1870.

He married Regina Pacini, who was a singer at the Politeama Opera up to the time of her marriage.

##### Dr. Elpidio González. Radical candidate as Vice-President.

Dr. Elpidio González was born in Rosario, province of Santa Fé. He is not of aristocratic descent like Alvear. He studied in Córdoba and obtained his degree as a lawyer in that city.

He practised law in the city of Córdoba, and took an active part in politics from his early youth.

Later he was elected a deputy for the Province of Córdoba, but due to illness took no active part in the legislature. Shortly afterwards he was appointed Minister of War by President Irigoyen. Subsequently he became interventor in the province of Córdoba, and was sent there to reorganize the Radical Party. Finally he was appointed Chief of Police of the Federal Capital, a post he has fulfilled until resignation upon proclamation as candidate to vice-President of the Republic.